

MEMOIRS

OF THE

PUBLIC LIFE

OF

MR. JAMES HOGG;

AND OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL PROCEEDINGS

OF HIS TIME;

PREVIOUS TO HIS SETTLEMENT AT CARNOCK;

PARTICULARLY

Of some GENERAL ASSEMBLIES that met posterior to
the REVOLUTION.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

IN A TESTAMENTARY MEMORIAL.

Sold by J. OGILVIE and J. GUTHRIE, *Edinburgh*; J. DUNCAN and J. DYMOCK, *Glasgow*; MURCHIE, *Stirling*; G. BROWN, *Perth*; and W. KNIGHT, *Aberdeen*.

1798.

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LIBRARY at WHITBURN.—If any Profits arise
from the Sale, they will be applied to the Benefit
of the Library.

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P R E F A C E,

BY THE EDITOR.

THE following account makes part of a large Memorial left by the pious author, as a kind of Testamentary Legacy to his Christian friends. Of this several copies appear to have been transcribed; but they have hitherto remained in a great measure unknown, having been confined to the libraries of some ministers, or to a few private hands, except what is contained in the Abridgement of the former part of it, relating chiefly to the religious exercises and conflicts of the writer under personal difficulties, published some time ago in the collection, entitled, "The Christian, the Student, and Pastor Exemplified;" by the late Mr. Brown, of Haddington. What relates to the public affairs of the church of Scotland, within the period referred to, which is more properly the historical part of the narrative, is entirely left out of that publication, as not belonging to the plan of it. As such manuscripts, when tossed from hand to hand, are in danger of totally perishing, or of being buried in oblivion in the rubbish of libraries, to those who respect the memory of the worthy author, or are desirous of information about a period so interesting in our civil and ecclesiastical history, this publication, it is hoped, will not be deemed unseasonable, or an unacceptable present. The memorials, with which we are yet furnished, for forming an ecclesiastical history of that period, are not so full or well digested, as to warrant our fastidiously rejecting any thing of the kind, especially when drawn up with religious care, by an accurate and intelligent observer or actor, whose veracity cannot in the least be suspected. None who know any thing of the character of this Memorialist, will hesitate to admit that these qualities eminently belonged to him.

Besides

Besides the facts here particularly stated, the Reader will find the views of parties chiefly employed in public managements at that time, and the springs of some of these measures, which then and afterwards proved a snare to the church of Scotland, opened up. He will see the grounds on which some conscientious Presbyterians proceeded, in declining some engagements required by authority, while yet they were well affected to the civil government, and hearty friends to the interests of this church. The Author unfolds his heart, and ingenuously records his sentiments both as to the managements of others and his own conduct in reference to them, as they were formed at the time, or upon mature reflection afterwards. While he could not be induced to comply with what he thought evil, yet he is tender in censuring others, and avoids all harsh and personal reflections. When he has occasion to speak of parties or individuals, he is careful to conceal names, as much as possible; though these Memoirs, like Bishop Burnet's "History of his own Times," were chiefly intended for perusal after his death, at a considerable distance of time from the events. The same precaution is generally here used, though now there may not be the same reason for all that delicacy, seeing all the actors have so long ago disappeared from the stage; especially as to matters that were publicly transacted, of which posterity are entitled freely to judge.

The difficulties and dangers that must ever attend the settlement of a nation after any great revolution, either as to its political or religious state, must here be apparent. The folly of attempting a coalition of parties, altogether opposite in their spirit and principles, and of retaining or employing in the public management of affairs in church or state, those who have carried on open hostilities against the liberties or religion of a nation, and who wait but for a new opportunity to subvert them, may be evident. Churches may be warned of the dangerous consequences of resigning their intrinsic rights to the will of civil rulers, and of delivering themselves up, in what relates to their own internal concerns, to political influence and intrigue. The church of Scotland, though by her constitutional principles and legal privileges, she be less subjected to the will of princes and court.

court-influence than perhaps any other favoured with an establishment, has suffered not a little from a specious and crafty policy, as well as from violence and persecution, especially at the æra of the Revolution and forward; while her ministers have too often been disposed to resign her rights, to comply with the measures and wishes of the great, forgetful of the duty they owed to their Lord and his people. In reading this narrative, as we may perceive one capital error, and some material omissions, in the politico-ecclesiastical settlement then made in this land, so one can hardly miss observing the early rise of some of these complaints and grievances, in reference to the administrations of a prevailing party in the church, which were so burdensome to the minds of some of the most faithful ministers and serious Christians at that time, who did not yet see matters ripe for stating a formal secession from the judicatories of it, but continued to testify in a state of communion with it, to the day of their death, of which our author was one: which grievances and others of a similar nature, arising from the same source, afterwards had such remarkable increase, and became so accumulated, as to rend the church in pieces, expel thousands from her pale, and to despoil her of her glory, together with her peace.

The manuscript made use of, is that which belonged to Mr. Thomas Mair, late minister at Orwell, and was communicated by one into whose possession it came, after his death. It consists of above 800 pages in 4to, carefully written. That part of it here printed entire, beginning at Section II. in the following arrangement, makes only the XI. or last Chapter of the whole work, as originally divided by the Author; but as it is, from the subject of it, less connected with the foregoing part, so it more conveniently admits of being separated from it. Though the whole might deserve to be submitted to the inspection of the world, with a few retrénochments, and might be useful and gratifying to the few who make religion the object of their most serious concern, yet from the great length of the Memorial, the general matter and strain of it, as well as from some peculiarity and harshness in the writer's style, (to which perhaps his long residence abroad in his younger years might partly contribute) there is little reason to hope that such

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a publication will either be soon demanded, or would meet with suitable encouragement, were any inclined to risk it, in such an age as the present. Of this PHILOMATHES (the name which the Author assumes throughout the work) seems to have been aware when composing it, which made him commit it to the circle of some select surviving friends, and those to whom they might see meet to impart it; scarce allowing himself to entertain a prospect of more extensive usefulness, though not excluding it. In the beginning he thus expresses his design and inducement to write it :

“ Mariners who have sailed dangerous seas, and are, notwithstanding many hazards and much bad conduct, yet mercifully preserved, do owe the justice and kindness unto these who are bound to the same port, and do furrow the same seas in their course towards it, namely, so far as they are able to afford their fellow voyagers the benefit of a sea chart or table, by pointing out ingenuously and plainly the rocks and shelves upon which they themselves had very near been dashed into pieces, through their bad management. In the like manner he findeth himself impressed with a strong inclination to essay a service of this kind for the behoof of his endeared friends, who, through grace, do point towards the same haven. The occasion which carried his thoughts to this was a little shock of sickness, from which he is in the way of recovery; and though no visible danger attended it, yet he finds himself obliged to take such little afflictions as citations to and remembrancers of our great appearance at the judgment seat of Christ.”

And when he is bringing it to a close, after acknowledging the want of “ that conciseness, accuracy, neatness, pointedness of style, and periods, which the learned Reader might expect,” he adds, with his usual humility and modesty, at the conclusion of the chapter immediately preceding that here selected :—

“ He thinks not that the more judicious and discerning will esteem this sincere Memorial worthy of a public view after his decease; besides that the nature and bulk, with its unsuitableness to the genius of the greatest of readers, may readily deter from the adventure. He entertains no other prospect, save that his worthy friends, to whom he leaveth it by way of Testament, will readily communicate it, with prudence and discretion, as it may please the Lord to guide them, and in case it may be made of some use in that manner, PHILOMATHES hath all that he proposeth.”

After

After which he immediately proceeds to the historical part, notwithstanding he foresaw such straits and difficulties as to the management, as had almost deterred him wholly from the attempt.

Some may think, that alterations might with propriety have been made, in what is now published; especially in language where either obsolete or technical terms are employed, or some quaint expressions, or Scotticisms not so generally understood, are used. The Editor at first intended to have taken some freedoms of this kind; but, upon further consideration, desisted; chiefly to obviate any objection that might hence arise against the genuineness or exactness of the Memoir. This is a consideration of such moment in matters of this kind, as will in the judgment of every true critic, sufficiently overbalance the neglect of lesser excellencies, such as the pleasing elegancies of expression. In attempting such alterations one scarce knows where to stop; and in some cases, the end might not be gained, without casting the original wholly into a new mould. Even a small change in phraseology will sometimes give a sentiment or fact a new turn, and injure the meaning of the author*. What in the

* It must be very difficult to avoid this danger in giving abstracts, when the method and language of the original writer are almost wholly departed from. This is the case in the printed Abridgement above mentioned, though it is continued throughout in the language of the first person. The Editor means no reflection on the painful compiler. So far as he hath had occasion to compare the Abridgement and the Memorial together, he has reason to think, that it is done upon the whole with care and fidelity. In that small portion of it, however, that coincides with what is here published, the Reader may judge in one instance, how far the above observation may be applicable. It relates to the manner of expressing the Author's sentiments in regard to the Royal Fast appointed after the Revolution. In the former it runs thus: "Though I question not the power of Magistrates, *authoritatively* to enjoin fasts, whatever be the neglect of church rulers, yet I could not well approve his appointment of one at this time; especially as it was appointed on the Lord's day." *The Christian*, &c. p. 148. The words of the Author may be seen in p. 37, of these Memoirs. Whatever were his sentiments, he has not there asserted the power of Magistrates *authoritatively* to enjoin fasts, but expressly ascribes that power to the church. It

the opinion of one man would make no real difference; to another might appear otherwise. Every man has a right in all controverted causes, like deponents in a court of law, to express his sentiments, and deliver his evidence of facts, in his own way. Should a clerk or counsel take upon them to reject the expressive, though vulgar phrases, of even the most rustic witness, and to clothe his deposition in a polite dress, they would be reckoned impertinently busy, and their pains would only tend to debase the evidence, or vitiate the record. But in the present case, the terms or phrases that may be less familiar to a modern ear, will be found not only intelligible, but often forcible. The Editor therefore has varied in nothing from the manuscript, except by changing a very few words, and leaving out a few redundant sentences, where he was confident, it could not be said that the sense was in the least affected. He has also divided it into sections, and affixed the titles to them, for the greater convenience of the Reader.

The account in the Memorial goes no farther than the Author's settlement in Carnock; where he continued his ministry above 30 years, in reputation for godliness and faithfulness, attended with happy effects. He interested himself in all the public concerns of this church, and was deeply affected with her dangers and progressive defections, that became apparent from time to time; as at the Union with England—the latter years of Queen Anne, when new oaths, and a new yoke was imposed; and in the first process carried on against Professor Simpson.—He published some small tracts upon many of the controverted questions of the time, as well as on a variety of practical subjects. In the latter part of his life he was called to farther contendings on the head of Doctrine, in what is called the *Marrow Controversy*, occasioned by a Recommendatory Preface he prefixed to a new edition of "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," in which many other eminent ministers were involved with him.

Whitburn, Jan. 1, 1798.

A. Bann

It is well known, that he afterwards carried his testimony against the encroachments made on the church's rights in this matter beyond most of his brethren: as may be seen in the printed Reasons given in by him and Mr. J. Bathgate, to the Presbytery of Dunfermline, for not observing a fast of this kind in 1724.

MEMOIRS, &c.

SECTION I.

Containing a few Preliminaries relating to the Author's early Life. Means of preserving Religious Impressions, and restraining him from Profligacy. His Reflections on the hurtful Tendency and Effects of the Cartesian Philosophy.*

PHILOMATHES was born of religious parents, who had their share of suffering among other conscientious Presbyterians, while persecution raged in Scotland. Though not in affluent circumstances, they, with other friends, were careful to bestow upon him a suitable education, with a view to public service in the church.—“The advantages of his education, and the authority he was under in his more tender years, did so far prevail as to bring him to some form of knowledge, and to set him on a tract of religious duties, such as they were, very insignificant, and performed with much superficiality and carelessness. Neither can he deny, but that he found some impressions even in his childhood, which seemed to point towards a work of grace and power. Nevertheless the vanities of childhood and youth got the ascendant, and these blossoms fell off almost entirely.”

* This is extracted from the former part of his large Memorial. The passages inclosed in marks of quotation, are copied *verbatim* from the manuscript.

When he was ready to become an easy prey to Libertinism and Atheism, the Lord mercifully prevented.— The following things were made useful for his preservation. “ First, It was his happiness often to enjoy a powerful dispensation of gospel ordinances, during the Prelatical persecution, and in the first periods of his sinful and much tossed life. In these days several choice ministers adventured to preach in the face of the cruel laws enacted against them, and were attended by the better sort of people. Much faithfulness and freedom were then used in the dispensation: and besides a powerful opening and applying the incontestable truths of law and gospel, our covenants and the work of reformation were kept in a favourable remembrance, and many steps of defection from thence came under a particular and close notice. And as our gracious Lord enabled persecuted ministers and people, in some measure, to act an honest part in these matters, and otherwise, so the word was accompanied and followed with power *. Our God who requires faithfulness in every concern of religion, and in a suitableness to the several times and periods of his church, is also pleased, of his free mercy, to give his countenance thereunto. But he treats not the purpose. Only he represents that, as it was his mercy frequently to sit under the dropping of their ordinances, so at times he could not escape the conviction that the Lord was there in a way of grace and power. In like manner, 2dly, It was his happiness to enjoy access unto some persons eminently godly, to have acquaintance with them, and to be frequently in their company, and particularly when they † conversed together about the great salvation, and poured out their hearts unto the Lord in prayer with one accord. His part he acknowledgeth to have been very mean, and almost a nothing in these sweet exercises, being then young, and destitute both of knowledge and experience. Notwithstanding, as he hereby had the occasion to hear excellent things, so they were of use

* Ezek. iii. 17. and xxiii. 7. 1 Cor. iv. 2. Jer. xxiii. 22. Gal. v. 1, 2. Ezek. xvi. 2. Jer. lvi. 1, 2, &c.

† Mal. iii. 16. Heb. x. 23, 24, 25. Acts ii. 1. and xii. 12. 1 Thess. v. 14, &c.

to give some displays of the reality and beauties of religion in its life and power. Thus the tides of the fore-mentioned temptations were stemmed to some degree, which otherwise would, in all appearance, have proven very strong. A 3d mean whereby the current to Libertinism was restrained, was the lovely occasions he had to view the most convincing † and alluring evidences of the Lord's owning and giving his countenance to some persons eminently godly, who were honoured to suffer for his cause in the times of great persecution. The graces of the Spirit which accompany salvation, like sweet and odoriferous spices, send always forth a pleasant savour, but more especially when they are beaten or pounded in a mortar. Hence it is, that the convincing majesty, and alluring beauty of gospel holiness appear in their chief lustre, at these seasons. Such is the evidence, and so much of countenance do honest sufferers ordinarily enjoy, that many times their most enraged persecutors cannot escape some conviction, the power of prejudice being so far overcome in their case. The entrance then of convincing light must be the more easy, where such prepossessions and prejudices are not entertained to preclude it. 4thly, It was much with him at this time, as with Israel in the wilderness; they wanted the more ordinary and visible means of subsistence, and were cast upon the Lord's immediate care, who preserved them, provided for them, and protected them by a tract of wonders."

When he fell under serious concern and awakenings, he felt the progress of these towards any gracious change, greatly hindered—by the inconstancy of youth;—abuse of parental indulgence;—a sullen reserve, and heavy pressure of melancholy;—an attachment to philosophical studies, and an irregular and ill-managed delight in them. He acknowledgeth his proficiency in these parts of literature to have been very small; yet "in regard the little smatterings he attained, did, both at that time and afterwards, prove ensnaring to him, he reckoneth it his duty ingenuously to account for his sins and misma-

† Mat. v. 10, 11, 12. 1 Pet. iii. 14. and iv. 14. Mat. xix. 28, 29. Luke xxii. 28, 29, 30, &c.

nagements in this matter, but without any design to reflect either upon true and masculine philosophy (which he holdeth in just estimation), or the wiser conduct, to which others were enabled, who better understood these parts of learning, and employed them in a due subservience to their proper ends.

“PHILOMATHES, in his entrance upon youthful years, not long after his childhood, was amused and somewhat taken with some positions of *Des Cartes* and his followers, which have a tendency to cast every thing loose, in the great concerns of religion, and were, ever since the publication of these schemes, abused by many, to the prejudice of truth, and for the support of many false and dangerous opinions in divinity. And these vile wretches, who, in their abominable scripts, have endeavoured quite to undermine all revealed religion, did most, and, for what he knows, all of them proceed upon some positions borrowed from that philosophy.—He remembers not that he positively espoused these hypotheses, nor had he either the will or capacity to manage any scheme whatsoever at that time. Notwithstanding these new, strange and dangerous notions did put a lamentable stop to the progress of the convincing and awakening influences he had aforesometimes felt upon his soul. Hereof PHILOMATHES shall essay to give some narration, yet without entering upon a disquisition about that or any other mould of philosophy, which he leaves entire, whatever they are, good or bad. 1. It was not a little prejudicial to him, to have his mind rendered vain and frothy, while amused, and, in a manner drunk with these notions, which (whatever they otherwise were) did prove in his case like too much sail to a small vessel that hath little ballast. He laments it heavily, that by these vanities, or the abuse of such detections, he was sadly diverted, and carried off almost entirely from a just concernment about the things which belonged to his peace. 2. Upon more clear and full views, which the Lord was pleased to bestow upon him a long time afterwards, he understood these schemes to have been adjusted for flattering corrupt and proud nature. He took their aspects to be highly favourable towards execrable Pelagianism, and no wonder, seeing they came from the school of Rome; their most famed author,

author, *Renatus Des Cartes*, having been professedly of that communion. This he might endeavour to evince from the chief rule of truth, which that philosophy assigns, *viz.* a clear and distinct perception: He could adduce many arguments for instructing this charge, but that such disquisitions are alien from these notes. 3. The chief damages, and which proved matter of various and sharp conflicts to him for a long time, these damages he represents did result from the handles which some principles of that philosophy gave unto temptations to Libertinism and Atheism (at least as he took them, and as they were generally understood), to which a door is opened thereby, without any effectual endeavours again to shut it. For, 1st, That famed author requires a calling every thing in question, and supposing the contrary to every truth, and the clearest of them all that we have formerly received; and carrieth the matter so far as (he trembles to express it) "to suppose there is no God." This universal dubitation he urgeth from some plausible, but vain topics, the detail whereof is not very suitable to the business of this essay. They who are versed in that part of learning will not readily be ignorant of them, or may review them in the author, and his followers. The dangerous poison he found covered under these flights and flourishes was this; that author and his followers are at a great deal of pains to unsettle every thing, and to cast loose, to deface and defeat all our former persuasions, and all under the pretext of setting us upon the only road for attaining true and sublime wisdom. But they leave us in the lurch, and beyond all possibility of resettlement, according to their principles. And such have been the fatal effects of that vain philosophy in many of its admirers, and some renowned amongst them. These, by their high aspirings beyond all just rates of sober and solid wisdom, did precipitate themselves into such deep pits of Scepticism and material Atheism (howsoever disguised), from whence they either never get out, or, at best, their applauded philosophy afforded them no habile means for making such a necessary escape. *PHILOMATHES*, when reflecting seriously upon the matter in his retirements, hath often compared the fair and splendid entrances of the fore-mentioned

mentioned highly pretending wisdom, with the pompous parade wherewith the first grand * temptation was ushered. The enemy made then his way subtilly and slyly, with calling in question, first some parts, and afterwards, by degrees, the whole of the Lord's covenant dealings with our first parents, and with us in them. All this was covered, and painted over with the alluring pretext of the greatest advantages both to soul and body. "Your eyes shall be opened, ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil," said the cunning deceiver. "When the woman saw that the tree was good for food, pleasant to the eye, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof and did eat."—Thus the infernal stratagem took effect, and the poison was instilled which brought death upon us all. Much in the same manner, and by the alluring motives of sublime wisdom, do the fore-mentioned methods cast all things once entirely loose, and deface the notices of a Deity, without affording proper means for a happy retrieval, so far as he could find upon the most impartial and careful researches.—And great men who have made much closer, and far more significant inquiries, are of the same mind. He cannot omit one further remark, viz. 2dly, That applauded philosopher and his followers reject the ordinary demonstrations of the existence of a Deity by way of causality, eminence, and in other such ways as had been received formerly. For this they adduce reasons, which, though solid, yet have a shew, and are agreeable enough to the strong biases of our darkened and Atheistical minds. In the room of these solid demonstrations (and which have been sufficiently vindicated from their vain cavils) they substitute others, as only good and valid, which yet leave open doors for various exceptions. Men of profound learning, and also sound in the faith, have given answers to them, which they thought solid. PHILOMATHES inclineth not to interpose, nor give his verdict in these matters, debated betwixt the learned on either hand. He only laments the prejudice he sustained, while enemies strengthened their engines of temptation by occasions and handles, which were so very much fitted to

* Gen. iii. 1, 2, 3, &c. 2 Cor. xi. 2, 3, 4, 5, &c.

advance their designs; and yet the Lord turned them to good and to greater establishment in the several issues. He will not impute to that renowned philosopher and his more early followers, the horrible design of affording new and stronger topics to Atheists. Nevertheless, as it is certain that our modern Atheists have built their detestable fabrics upon principles and grounds in vogue amongst these sophists, and have, with one voice, gone into them; so he cannot deny, but that these new and strange notions have much in them that is suitable to their infernal projects. It was a very bad part to undermine (so far as in them lay) the old universally received and solid demonstrations of the existence of God, from nature's light, and to put others in the place of them, which are, at best, but dubious. That detestable monster and villain, *Julius Cesar Vaninus*, who was burnt for Atheism at Tholouse, by the Papists themselves, acted a part for spreading his poison, that was too like to the management of our authors. He, in his *Theatrum Providentiæ Divinae*, pretends to write for Providence; but, in the mean while, he betrays it by his exceptions and nibblings at the solid arguments that prove it, and surrogating others into their room, which, to the conviction of any judicious and sober person, are manifestly frivolous. But PHILOMATHES is now weary of these philosophical structures. He concludeth that part with his humble advice, and earnest recommendation to his surviving friends, that they would seriously lay to heart the apostolical exhortations and cautions relative to that matter, in Coloss. ii. 8. Acts xvii. 18."

As PHILOMATHES views in religion became more distinct, and his exercises more particular, he was the more sensible of the power of unbelief, a legal spirit, and much ignorance of the true method of salvation and of the nature of the gospel call, though he never in his judgment embraced Pelagian or other gross errors. Even after he went over to Holland, "tho' his circumstances carried him to be deeply conversant about spiritual matters, being then in the course of theological studies, yet great was the want he found, while the real beauty and excellent glory of the truth, "as it is in Christ Jesus †," remained

† Eph. iv. 21.

remained hid from him, though yet he had access to hear matters of divinity, in their large compass inculcated and treated with admirable profoundness and accuracy. As to his fellow students, he bemoaned their case, as much of a piece with his own. He and they heard, spoke, and were variously occupied about these weighty things, as if they all had been the scholars of Aristotle, Plato, or some other Heathen philosopher. They and he heard and spoke of the Lord, but without any humble awe and reverence of his majesty upon their spirits, and did adventure to dispute and decide in these matters, as if they had been the meanest and most trivial things."

But in the event he attained to such acquaintance with the truth, power and sweetness of the gospel, as entirely changed the scene. After deep humiliation and grievous tossings he could clearly discern his gracious relation to Jesus, and a begun conformity to him, amidst many infirmities and mistakes. His views became more evangelical, and his exercises more conformable to the free tenor of the new covenant. The Divine Spirit taught and sealed the doctrines of the word in his experience; so as not only to settle his own soul in spiritual peace and joy, but to make him willing and in some measure meet either to labour or suffer for Christ, in company with those who were adhering to the public cause of reformation, and maintaining a good conscience. And to both he was called in his future public life †.

† To continue the narrative of the author's personal exercises and conflicts, and of the means of getting deliverance from his troubles, mistakes and doubts, and of his establishment in the great truths of natural and revealed religion, in opposition to violent temptations to Atheism and Deism, belongs not to the design of this publication. They are detailed at sufficient length in the *Memorial*, of which some idea may be formed from the Abridgment formerly mentioned. In the following part, which is given entire, the author, in the title, "propoeth to account for the chief wrestlings which related to his ministerial work—both as to incontestable matters, and sundry things controverted in his time:" under IV. different heads of unequal length.

SECTION II.

Containing some Account of PHILOMATHES' Situation and Studies when abroad. His return to Scotland after the Revolution. The State of Religion and Parties about that Time. His Trials for Licence, and Entrance on his public Work.

HAVING proposed to account for the chief wrestlings that relate to his ministerial work, touching Head I. namely, his preparation for this great work, PHILOMATHES hath too good ground to be humbled, that it is much wanting to this day. Notwithstanding he cannot omit to record some things more memorable which had a native tendency that way, though he came far short of a just improvement.

(1.) After very small proficiency at home, where he did not finish his philosophic course, a favourable juncture of providence carried him to a foreign country, where he had the advantage to attend at a famous university, and he accounts himself obliged to insert into this his testament the acknowledgments he oweth to several desirable persons, and some of great eminency both belonging to his native land, and to diverse also of that foreign country, who interested themselves in him, and shewed him great kindness; and, in a peculiar manner, to the famous professors, whom he heard there; some of whom took special notice of him, and when he had continued a while at the college did recommend younger students to his care, and as the assisting of them was of use for his own improvement, so it afforded him competent gain, which came in regularly, their parents or overseers being of the richer sort could easily afford it, and his circumstances in a foreign country rendered so much seasonable and steadable.—He reckons not himself among the exiles, though a sharer of that persecution, of which his parents, and by consequence the family had their deep share. His youth at

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that time exempted him from particular notice, though yet he escaped not altogether, but was marked so far, that it would not have been long safe for him to continue in his native land, and hence his foreign education was the more wisely and mercifully ordered, that he might be in a capacity to serve his country in due time, might it please the Lord so to honour and bless him; for in his tender years he was in no case for service: notwithstanding others of his country, who through the violence of persecution were constrained to retire, do also owe a grateful sense of kindness to many in that land, where they were not only suffered to dwell safely, and covered from the face of the spoiler*, but also kindly entertained and encouraged, as their circumstances did variously require. Some time after that he had left the university, he was recommended by one of the professors to a noble family, and was accordingly received into it; there he sojourned several years, and had work suited to some parts of his education. His health was indeed much broken for most of that time, and yet he was not wholly disabled for his business all the while, save only once, when appearances presaged approaching death. But it pleased the Lord very quickly to restore him, which he took as a return of the prayers of that eminent man, Mr. T. H—— sometimes mentioned in this memorial. PHILOMATHES had been carried out of the family at his desire, and was entertained by him for a little while, but returned to it very soon. There was no want of kindness, and care on the part of these noble persons and the whole family, where he was entertained with so much undeserved respect, that it were a high pitch of ingratitude in him ever to forget such generous and discreet usage: yet being then in a near prospect of death, and his friend Mr. T. H. also in a frail state of body, they both inclined to be together. These particulars, though considerably distant in time, he yet thought fit to represent at once, because of their connection otherwise.

(2.) Touching the study of Theology (if he may so design his poor mints) any thing which looked that way was not undertaken by him from fixed prospects of serving in a ministerial station, in regard the heat of persecution

* Heb. xi. 37. Isa. xvi. 9. 1 Cor. iv. 11.

education in his native land had expelled these of his principles from it, both ministers of the gospel and others, who could possibly find shelter in other places; and he could not entertain any thought of such a station in the land where he sojourned, though he was well acquainted both with language and people, in regard of compliances he could not go in unto, and yet without which that work was inaccessible. Hence also he declined to entertain generous and kindly offers tending that way, which had been made to him more than once. So remote were all such prospects from his eyes, that he often used his utmost endeavours, and did set on work all the interest he could make, having implored the assistance of his friends, to obtain posts of another nature, at which he might serve, and subsist creditably. He was also more than once at the very point of gaining his intent that way: but still some one thing or another was dispersed in Providence (and very unexpectedly) whereby these designs, to his great sorrow, did prove abortive. Thus he was constrained to continue his aims at theological work, all other doors having been shut upon him.

(3). Though he had almost entirely laid aside all expectations of being employed in the work of the ministry; the thoughts whereof had often gone near to sink him, considering its great import, and his utter unsuitableness, yet a manifold necessity lay upon him to improve his time in somewhat (may he call it) preparative that way; for, besides that all his essays of other business, and to procure settlements for that effect, proved ineffectual, the crowds of enemies which surrounded him, and all possible engines of temptation they could set on foot, put him so exceedingly to it, both as to the truths and exercise of religion, yea, and every thing whereby the Lord had manifested somewhat concerning himself, even by nature's glimmerings, and more especially by revealed light, &c.—these and other considerations meeting in his circumstances whetted his spirits to such an edge (when extraordinary damps were allayed) that had it been possible for him, he would have encompassed sea and land for light. Hence all means were used for it, so far as he was enabled to carry them; and at that time he also perused what books, yea, and manuscripts, of the
very

very worst note, he either could purchase, or were in providence brought to his hand, being intensely desirous to know the uttermost of the exceptions, objections and cavils of adversaries, atheists, libertines and heretics, of whatever denominations. He pretends not either to justify his conduct in this matter, or to desire his survivors to follow the example, unless the Lord do otherwise clear their way; not that there is any ground to honour the empty and insignificant inventions of hell, by standing in awe of them in the least. Such is the brightness or reluctance of revealed truth, when God who commanded the light to * shine out of darkness, shineth in upon the heart, that the cavils of adversaries whatsoever can as little militate against it as the barkings of curs could hurt a meridian sun. But as poor PHILOMATHES threw away a great deal of time in raking such dunghills, so that barren, choking and vexatious study signified nothing towards the issuing his conflicts, all he had thereby was that he knew what these weak and wicked men advanced, whereof he might very well have remained ignorant. In the highest account it was nothing comparable to the temptations more immediately from devils, wherewith he had been ordinarily put to grapple.

(4.) When it pleased the Lord, and in so far as it seemed good unto him to send forth his light, † and truth for issuing these conflicts, the light became from time to time still sweeter to him, and procured such an addictedness to the reading some choice theological tracts, that it was not possible for him to ply any other study. And though he entertained projects of that sort before, which also might have been carried some length, had he begun with them, yet after the sweets of Theology, they lost all relish with him to such a degree, that he could by no means, get his thoughts carried that way. A concern about his own salvation, with the necessary attendance upon the Lord, and the use of means in dependance upon him for that effect, were brought, at length, to such a connection with theological studies that it was not possible for him to sever them. And seeing peace in his

* 2 Cor. iv. 3, 4, 5, &c. Eph. v. 13. 2 Cor. x. 4, 5. John vi. 65.

† Psalm xliii. 3, 4.

own conscience, and any little access to the Lord which was graciously bestowed upon him, were so knit to his poor aims at this study, that they could not be separated, and all did run in the same channel, he was brought to a point in so far, *viz.* that these were his studies about which he had the Lord's call to be employed: Before this, he was sadly undetermined, and like to be swallowed up with sorrows, which appeared inextricable. Fain would he have abandoned all thoughts of pointing towards the ministry, and have made choice of some other employment, and was never more in earnest about any business of that nature, than in using all endeavours he could to obtain another station. For some time he could neither study Theology, nor could he leave it, and thus he was racked and did halt betwixt the two: But now that Providence had inclosed and hedged him in at all all hands, and that he found peace, sweetness, and enlargement in his little essays towards theology, it gave him no small solace, that he knew his way in that respect, and that it was duty to go on whatever might be the result.

(5.) In regard his chief and almost-only motives towards this business were taken from some near and weighing concerns of his own soul, often entangled amongst the thickets of various temptations, he could not escape an adjusting his work unto a near conformity to these exigencies, and therefore he took great delight in perusing the works of sundry divines, who were eminent as well for digested experience in religion, as for great learning, after that he had gone through some course of theological studies in conjunction with his companions at a renowned foreign university. And in particular he took great pleasure in reading and pondering the works of Messrs. Hooker, Shepherd, Jeremiah Burrows, Owen, Goodwyn, and others whom he need not name: his honest survivors may and will know them, as they have occasion.

(6.) Thus matters continued with him for some years, during most of which time he sojourned in a noble family, where he was employed in pleasant and easy work, and wanted not abundance of leisure for retirement, as the frail estate of his body could allow. He also had the
advantage

advantage of defirable means for improvement by converse with diverse excellent ones of the earth, and persons of good note both for grace and parts. Sundry of these met in societies, with whom he joined, and several of considerable quality thought it not below them to ply these social duties. Diverse of these societies were managed in a comely and profitable way, and an attendance upon them was blessed to some who sincerely pointed heavenward, and found help through that conveyance; and he doubts not but that others were awakened; yet he could not approve their conduct in sundry regards: for besides that these conferences were more open than he could understand good ground for, (for none were excluded from hearing) some assumed too far, and encroached upon ministerial work by stated discourses (without conference) upon places of scripture, both explaining and applying them to such as came to hear. This was a grief to him, which also he expressed as he found access, and the instances of Korah, Dathan and Abiram were alarming †, whose asprings beyond their station were punished in a very awful manner, as is known: yet he dare not set these honest men upon a level with such rebels, who sinned with the height of daring presumption, for they acted ignorantly or inadvertently, and such meddlings are very ordinary in foreign places. I hear also that some Dissenters in England do allow them, and he hath read paragraphs in the writings of eminent divines, who expressly own a liberty reaching, upon the matter, this length, and upon grounds which he apprehends have a tendency to throw the churches of Christ into utter confusion: for if a liberty to exercise gifts to the extent whereunto the person therewith endowed, and others also, may think they will carry him, be allowed upon their private motion, the land-marks and marches betwixt pastors and people would soon be removed, and they might so invade the office of teachers, that there would be no end. Thus the lovely order, with a due subordination of people to pastors instituted by the Lord to be observed in the churches, would fall to the ground. He is loath to carry this digression too far. His friends may consult authors who have treated the controversy. The scriptural directory is clear; “ No man taketh this honour

† Numb. xvi. throughout.

honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron *;” and even the Lord Jesus, in his mediatory estate acted by a call in this matter: “He glorified not himself to be made an high priest.” That one posing question may suffice to issue the controversy, *viz.* “How shall they preach except they be sent?”

(7.) When the persecution ceased, and King James VII. had left the throne, he resolved, and some while afterward did return to his native land. He had both work and plentiful entertainment, while abroad; and though he wanted not encouragements toward a foreign settlement, which he thinks not proper to be mentioned in this manner, yet any little service he might be fitted, through grace, to perform, he reckoned due to his native country: besides that the design of his education in a foreign country, and the stretches of manifold kindnesses shewed him, ere he was some way naturalized amongst them, and had access to do for himself, together with the commands of his only surviving parent, then residing in Scotland, rendered his return a clear duty, both in point of justice and gratitude. Nevertheless the obligations he owed to some worthy persons in that strange land (which was a little native country to him), together with the intimate fellowship wherein he lived with some excellent ones of the earth there, and some attachments, which prudence forbids to mention in this manner, &c.; those, he saith, and other things he names not, concurring, made his leaving that foreign country one, if not the greatest, adventure of self-denial he ever had occasion for, during the course of his pilgrimage. And hence though the greatness of the example, and seeming remoteness of the purpose deterring, procured sharp struggles, yet he could not escape, and was under an invincible necessity of taking home a passage of scripture, which was cast into his mind about that time, *viz.* “By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, because thou hast done this thing, &c.—that in blessing I will bless thee, &c.”† He entirely abstracts from all the singularities in that great instance, to which his small matters are not worthy to be compared, and only considers

* Heb. xxxv. 4, 4. Rom. x. 13.

† Gen. xxii. 16, 17.

considers it on the part of self-denial, wherein it had some parallelisms to his case, which he shall bury in silence. Neither wanted it some sweet verification by a greater measure of heart-enlargement † in the Lord's ways than he had enjoyed before. — So much then is gained in point of light, viz. 1st. That it was duty to come home to his native country. 2d. In regard his thoughts and poor studies did wholly run in a theological channel, and the small talents he had were only of that kind, that it was his plain and indispensable duty to occupy therewith ‡ as it might please the Lord to open a door unto him.

(8.) Being in his native country, as he had lived in sweet fellowship with the godly in his tender years, ere he went off from it, and also while abroad both with these of his own nation and foreigners, so upon his return, he found it as much his interest as his duty to seek acquaintance of the most judicious, clearly enlightened, and eminently godly, as he could find access unto the same: "The || secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will shew them his covenant." It was his desire and prospect to be in that company eternally, and hence he associated himself unto them in time as much as possibly he could: with them he entertained the nearest and sweetest familiarity, and having found some of them of a reach much beyond the ordinary set, and greatly fitted to be useful, being wise, prudent and close, to these he opened his whole heart, as his circumstanced cases rendered so much necessary and advisable. In this way he was led in to see innumerable evils of his heart and walk, while such fair copies did clearly manifest his blurrings and blunders: and in particular he was made, in these methods, to discern his great ignorance of the gospel covenant, and manifold entanglements with the law, as, through abuse, made opposite thereunto. — They understood the glorious gospel much better than he, and therefore he loved and honoured them. He accounts it his great mercy, that throughout the strain of his conversation he was enabled to entertain great respect to

† Psalm cxix 32.
Mat. xxv. 14, &c.

‡ Luke xix 13. Rom. xii. 6.
|| Psal. xxv. 14.

these

these whom the Lord had * beautified with his image, to be willing, yea, and to reckon it his happiness, might he sit at the feet of these excellent ones, and receive instruction, conviction, encouragement and any other advantage, wherein it might please the Lord to make them of use unto him; especially when saving grace had the accession of wit, and learning, to render it more useful. Moreover the scriptural † records concerning our Lord's care of his little ones, and tenderness of them, bore great weight with him. He lived under just and cautious fears, lest he should offend them, was willing and desirous to account to them for his motions, and ready, through grace, to acknowledge the evil, whensoever he perceived that he had sinned aside. He hated contention, and found it still hurtful to him, and though his soft and weak mind rendered him very unfit to grapple with the raised passions of men, yet his soul desired, as to all his concerns, to come to the light, and to have all of them without exception brought to the scriptural standard, and judged thereby; and a sincere trial by this only rule was still desired by him, and the more close and strict, was still the more acceptable through grace. But in regard men cannot accomplish a search so close and exact, as he found needful, his eyes were towards the Lord, that he might ‡ search and try him.

(9.) Before, but a great deal more after, his return, he was straitened how to behave with reference to a two-fold extreme, which he found strong and prevalent in his native country. Upon the one hand, a dreadful and dangerous schism had been raised in this church, during the times of heavy persecution, and a considerable number of people had formed themselves into a separate body, having withdrawn from the whole Presbyterian ministry of this church, excepting some two or three, or a very few who were of their mind. They looked upon themselves as the alone entire, and standing part of the church. They had also gone lengths with respect to the state,

* Psal. xvi. 2, 3. 1 John v. 1, 2. † Mat. xviii. 8, 9. Luke xvii. 1, 2, 3, &c. 1 Cor. x. 32. Phil. i. 10.

‡ Psalm xxvi. 1, 2. and cxxxix. 23. Job xxxiv. 31, 32, &c.

which were very singular. One of their ministers had, at a field-meeting, to the great surprize of sundry of his hearers, excommunicated the then Duke of York, and some others of the nobility, who were indeed very wicked, and had been noted persecutors, though that manner of sudden and summary resentment was extraordinary, and out of the common road. A considerable body of them had also erected themselves into what they called a Convention of States, (though yet they were of the lower station) and did emit declarations, and made acts, into the disquisition whereof he shall not enter. Accounts of these matters are extant in a great part, and he expects that a particular, large, and honest history of these days, and of the whole particulars since the commencement thereof will be published in due time. He acknowledgeth that many lamentable defections of persons in all ranks, during the persecution, had given great offence, and that the cruel oppression, with the barbarous persecutions of these times were (for what he knows) without a parallel amongst such as would be called Protestants; and it appeared afterwards that a design of establishing Popery was on foot, and carried on by the chief managers of these violences.—Thus we were brought, and made considerable entrances into Babel, yea, the fatal stroke was very near, and would have been given, had not the Lord vouchsafed a great and merciful turn. The memorable history of this is known, and he enters not upon it. He only represents that the secession from the whole Presbyterian and persecuted ministry was matter of heavy sorrow to him; and yet he did not justify the stretches of sundry ministers * and others, who took shelter for many years under these persecuting rulers, in ways which he could not approve, and many of the choicest of the land, as well as poor PHILOMATHES, thought to be Erastian; besides that they were also unkindly and ungenerous, as of a tendency and expressly designed by the government, to expose their brethren to the greater fury of persecution, which likewise took effect, and the persecution was screwed to such dreadful heights, that it needed not to be thought very strange, though many were tempted thereby unto such resentment

* Psalm cxxv. 5.

ment and irregularities, to which otherwise they would not have gone: for oppression will render even "a wise man mad †." And touching what they excepted against the civil government, though he regrets the extremes to which some of them carried that matter, yet the estates of parliament did afterwards find the most important of their objections truly valid, and declared so much in the *Claim of Right*, and otherwise. But it is not his business to debate these matters in his Testamentary Memoirs: all that he intends at present is to represent, that in regard several gracious persons were not free of a leaven that fermented towards the extreme of schism, and many had gone to unwarrantable heights of that nature, having stumbled so far at evils which were real defections in persons of all ranks, he was under a concern to carry faithfully, wisely, and yet tenderly with them.

Yet, secondly, on the other part, he was grieved at the general bent, in these times, towards compliances and accommodations, the consistency whereof with our principles and covenants he could not understand.—— We are a people in covenant with the Lord, and in a suitableness to these covenants, during the course and long tract of persecution we had endured, their inviolable obligation had been owned with all possible solemnity for many years. Our received doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to these covenants, was also maintained and exercised in all possible ways, as could be attained under the vehemence and cruelty of persecution. As to what concerned those who took shelter, by a sort of indulgence from the Erastian and persecuting rulers, he intermeddles not with their conduct, neither doth he know at what rate they maintained their peace, nor can he account for the measures they took with sundry persecutors who were under their charge; but this he knows, that the body of the persecuted (whatever differences were amongst them in other things) agreed in owning the obligation of the national and solemn league and covenant, and made frequent and honourable mention of these covenants, together with their expressing most just resentments of oaths contrary to them, and laws made against them. The strain of doctrine

† Eccl. vii. 7.

doctrine preached in persecuting times bore manifold testimony to this, when the times were meddled with; therein, as often they were, and in some cases to an excess. Yet, behold! after a great and happy revolution, other measures are recommended under the specious names of *Prudence*, and *Just Moderation*. Men of a leading influence, both in church and state, do by a kind of strange concert agree to suppress the testimony of the former times, not to mention our covenants, at least in any solemn way, and with the honour due to them; and to manage in church matters, as much to the mind of the rulers, as could consist in any manner with our known principles; and sundry stretches were made to the grief not only of these who swayed towards extremes, but also to a wounding the hearts of several judicious and godly persons who were quiet, sober, and had a just aversion from extremes on any hand whatsoever. And when these strange accommodations were challenged, as they failed not to be by severals exercised to godliness, the ordinary answer was, That the circumstances of the time and prudential considerations required so much, and that it was not as yet the season to intermeddle either with our covenants and defections from them, or to take such measures as might give the least umbrage to these who were in the government; though yet few of them were of our principles, though they gave us so much countenance as they thought their present interest rendered advisable; whereas many then and afterwards in power, had been amongst the leaders in the former persecutions. We were at that time, as to the prevalent sway, much of a piece with the Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, who generally pretended, "that the time was not come, the time to rebuild the Lord's † house;" and in the mean while they were much busied in building and beautifying their own houses, but the hand of the Lord was against them, and their secular wealth was gradually consumed: according to the sequel of that prophecy, just quoted, which had also, and still hath, its accomplishment upon us, who continue much of a piece with them in the worse part; but are not as yet awakened, as they were, to give God the glory in a
solemn

† Hag. i. 2, 3, &c.

solemn, free and national § acknowledgment of our defections, reviving our covenants, and returning unto him. But he inclines not to dilate these purposes.

(10.) Notwithstanding, in regard the Lord had mercifully opened a door, and that all his friends with one voice desired, also the presbytery of Edinburgh harmoniously invited him, he thought it his duty to submit to trial towards his being licensed to preach the gospel, and it pleased the Lord to order the several steps of that enterprize in much mercy to him. He had laid his account long before this with an afflicted and uncertain lot in the world, and wherein he might readily be destitute of helps, which otherwise might be necessary, desirable, and useful; and the very few books he had were not then at hand, he having left the most of them in that foreign country, where he had sojourned for several years. He might indeed have borrowed, and would not have wanted upon the least signification of his desire, yet he essayed somewhat, which he indeed trembles to mention, and yet cannot conceal in a consistency with the ingenuity designed in these his last memoirs, viz. he essayed to make the several draughts of every piece of trial, which had been prescribed to him, without consulting any authors beside the Bible; and accordingly he did so, and delivered each of them with approbation, without any considerable variation from the first casts, so far as he can remember. Touching a Latin discourse upon the subject, they gave him to treat, he sat down soon after the prescription, with no other design save to mark the intended series, and though he afterwards consulted a few authors, yet he minds not any alteration he made from what he found in them: He hopes his honest readers will not mistake this freedom. He hath no other design save to record ingenuously the Lord's free mercy, through Christ, to the most insignificant of creatures, and to encourage such of his surviving friends, whom the matter may concern more nearly. He thinks this dispensation the more remarkable, for that he had of a considerable while before entirely desisted from polemical

§ Jer. Neh. and Dan. chap. ix. and particularly Neh. ix. 36, 37, 38.

studies. He found that his several cases and tossings required an attachment to purposes of another nature, and often demanded the study of his own heart rather than of any thing else, and he could not avoid to conform his work to his circumstances. This gave a handle to fears, lest such an omission might tend to his hurt, and that he would not be so ripe as need were, when examined in order to his license. Some also informed him, that sundry of his judges had resolved to have him tried the more closely, because of his advantages beyond many others, in having managed his studies at a foreign university, and the vogue he had of strictness in principle would have made any considerable failure he might be guilty of, to be observed the more punctually: yet the Lord pitied and carried him through the several parts of these probatory exercises, without any prejudice sustained by a long continued omission of such studies as might justly have been thought most advisable with respect there unto, while yet the nearest concerns of his soul carried him to be wholly taken up about practical theology.

(II.) The subjects he was required to treat for trial were difficult, yet mercifully ordered in his case, being suited to what he would fain have had to be the exercise of his mind for some years before. He thinks it will not be unacceptable to his survivors, that he mention them in a few words. The first led him to consider saving illumination from that text; "This is eternal life to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent *." The second carried him to some pondering of Christ's dwelling in the Christian's heart, from these words; "Christ in you the hope of glory †;"—where a grave and weighty question fell under consideration, *viz.* Jesus Christ in the believer is every thing that pertains to ‡ life and godliness, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, whence is it that the hope of glory is particularly condescended upon? This query, besides its suitableness to the place, was most necessary to him on other accounts. He repeats not, nor doth he remember after a long interval, sundry things

* John xvii. 3.
† Cor. i. 29, 30.

† Col. i. 27.

‡ 2 Pet. i. 3.

he was guided to advance upon it. He only represents a note or two, which he ought never to forget. 1st, That the gracious person shall not in any case be utterly destitute; "The righteous shall never be forsaken †." — Christ is in him, shall ever be in him, and is in him "the hope of glory." 2dly, When other more sensible sweet enjoyments do fail, he walks in ‡ darknes, and wants the light of consolation, yet hope is not extinguished, nor ever shall be, for Christ in him will never leave him, and he is in him "the hope of glory ||." Many a great depth did PHILOMATHES wade through; and often did he almost lose ground after this; nevertheless, at his worst, he found the passage verified; for the enemy could never extinguish his hopes of glory; and now that the shadows of the evening are stretched out, and he reckons upon it that his day is drawing to a close, here he finds the living spring of his sweetest and most serene joys. The third discourse was concerning prayer, from these words; "Praying in the Holy Ghost §;" and thereby he was brought under the sweet necessity of considering diverse things of weight pertaining to the conduct of the Spirit of the Lord in prayer, and otherwise, which were both humbling and encouraging to him. The Latin discourse prescribed was concerning the mystical union betwixt Christ and believers; a subject of the nearest concern to his soul, with an eye unto which it had been the matter of much thoughtfulness unto him. He also inserted a clause or two into this thesis, which struck directly against some Cartesian sentiments, that had heretofore served as handles of various temptations, wherewith he was sometimes not a little tossed. The subject of the discourse was remote from these matters, but a reason determined him to expose them to debate, which he inclines not to mention in this manner. But the chief purpose touched in them was concerning the inhabitation of the person, as well as the graces of the Spirit in the believer. This also was reasoned with much closeness in the dispute, and the worthy opponent told him

† Psalm xxxvii. 25. Heb. xiii. 5. Joshua i. 7.

‡ Isaiah v. 11 || Micah vii. 7, 8, 9. Psalm xlii. 5.
and xliii. 5. Isaiah viii. 17, &c. § Jude, verse 20.

afterwards

afterwards more than once, that the reasoning was made useful to him, and that he came to be of his opinion, from which he was averse before. PHILOMATHES remembers that this had been the matter of particular thoughtfulness unto him in the concernments of salvation before that time, and that he was greatly confirmed in his sentiments by the large accounts which the great Dr. Owen hath given of that matter, in his treatise concerning the Spirit, and some other of his elaborate tracts. So much for the first point, viz. preparations for the ministerial work. He shall next enter upon some remarkables in the exercise of it, for in regard of the scarcity of ministers shortly after the Revolution, he continued not long in his probationary state.

SECTION III.

Farther Observations on the State of public Affairs. Some Things as to the Exercise of the Author's Ministry, when a Probationer. His Settlement in a Parish. The State of the People. And the manner in which he endeavoured to discharge the Ministerial Duties.

HEAD II. **T**HOUGH the interval of time betwixt the license and ordination was small, yet some things memorable occurred therein, which had a great influence upon his following settlement, and he thinks necessary on that head to be communicated to his dear survivors.

(1.) A merciful restoration of liberty, and access to solemn worship, without the heavy yoke of persecution, which had pressed us for many by-past years, was matter of much joy to PHILOMATHES and others. When the Lord had, in so far, returned our † captivity, we were

† Psalm cxxvi. 4. Isaiah x. 20.

were even in amaze, and “like men that dreamed.” This he thought should have sweetly determined, and even melted our hearts into a humbling sense of our national defections, and procured a free and unhampered acknowledgment of them on fit occasions, and especially upon days of solemn fasting and humiliation. During the former persecution so much was endeavoured with singleness and honesty, though at the peril of liberty, goods, yea, and life also. And now that the Lord had extricated us from these dangers, with a strong hand and stretched out arm, he expected not that any difficulty would have swayed us, to the omission of a duty so very clear in its nature, and plain from the scriptures of truth. It is known, that after the Babylonish captivity the Jews made free ‡ confession of their public defections, as was before instructed; and the maxim is of an eternal verity acknowledged by all, namely, “He that covereth his sins shall not prosper, but he that confesseth and forsaketh shall find mercy ||”——It is true indeed that sundry public sins were then controverted, as ordinarily they have been in the several ages of the church, and he knoweth not any period, since the apostolical days, which were entirely free of debates of this kind: yet sure there were many sins which might be reckoned beyond dispute amongst those of our communion, and he could see no reason why such should not have been confessed, save these that were mainly deduced from the topics of carnal prudence and man-pleasing. It was also at once afflictive and astonishing to him, to observe how we came to be crouded with a set of new Presbyterians, who had gone all the lengths of required compliance in the late times: They, with others who had sheltered under the indulgences of the last reigns, together with the politicians of the time, and men of no fixed principle in point of government, nor of zeal in any religious concern, had notwithstanding a mighty influence in these days. Our temporary Presbyterians, and sundry old persecutors who swayed with the time, were much caressed and had their deep share, or at least were much noticed in our deli-

‡ Jer. Neh. and Dan. ch. ix.

|| Prov. xxviii. 13. Psalm xxxij. 3. 5.

berations and resolutions about public matters. Many of these Temporaries, and some also who were actors, more or less, in the former persecutions, got into our judicatories; and though they utterly neglected inferior courts, or at best gave them very little countenance, and took no inspection of the congregations to which they belonged, yet failed not to be at our Assemblies, being ordinarily chosen to attend them, as ruling elders. Thus old sufferers came to be borne down, unless they went into a sort of politic presbytery upon the Revolution-footing, as it was and still is usually called.

He designeth not hereby to asperse, or in the least detract from the heroical achievements of the illustrious and magnanimous King William, whose memory, together with that of Queen Mary, his royal consort, ought still to be savoury to these lands; they having been honoured to be the instruments of a great deliverance to us from popery, slavery and death. But still he thinks we ought to have used that great and happy Revolution in another and better manner. We had then the honour and benefit of access to these great persons. and to treat with crowned heads, an occasion from which we had been long debarred; and he thinks Christian ingenuity and candour would have demanded an honest and strenuous asserting, and owning the principles for which we had suffered many years, and in particular as they are opposite to prelacy and Erastianism. Besides he was persuaded, we owed the honour unto the Prince of the kings of the earth of acknowledging solemnly our more noted defections in the former times. Surely it was "meet to be said to the Lord, I have born * chastisement, I will not offend: That which I know not, teach thou me, and whereinsoever I have done iniquity, let me do so no more."—He presumes our sovereign would not have thought strange of such honest measures, and would have imputed them to our principles, as natively consequential upon them. So much also was proposed and urged by judicious and godly men, diverse of whom had been old and honest sufferers: But our chief managers, sundry of whom were but temporary Presbyterians, did carry us into quite other measures. He acknowledgeth that

* Job xxxiv. 31, 32.

that an honest essay towards this was made by our first General Assembly, and that they made an act for a national fast, wherein a particular enumeration was made of some chief steps of our defection, viz. the declaration against the covenants, the test, and more such just causes of the Lord's indignation against us. The draught containing these particulars was also read in open assembly with great complacency of the members; and the Moderator declared thereupon that he thought it a very favourable paper: yet it had not that relish with their Majesties' High Commissioner, who desired that the passing of the act might be delayed that session; and in the meanwhile, he sought up the bill, that he might review it before any further progress. Accordingly it was given to his Grace; and these particular crying sins of the late times were dashed out. So great was the sway of our political bias after a memorable Revolution.

This change was surprising, and alarmed sundry of the members, who were thinking to challenge it; yet, for peace sake, they were silent: So great were our fears of every thing that might have any tendency to break squares with the politicians of that time. After the next reading, the draught, thus altered, was passed into an act very quickly: for our managers had no inclination that it should be reasoned. It is true, the Moderator signified that ministers might be more particular in the observation, and might condescend upon the sins of their respective congregations: but besides that this was a weak salvo, for we declined to make such freedom a national deed, it was but little even of that kind we used. There was indeed a proposal made by the Moderator, and gone into by the Assembly, that a monitory paper should be compiled, and emitted by them; and some were nominated to draw it up. He also remembers, that a very honest letter of an old dying minister, with reference to this matter, was read in the committee of overtures, and that the worthy author did therein humbly and gravely, yet most earnestly recommend to their serious consideration, an assertion and revival of our covenants. He heard that epistle read (being a probationer, and present), which was very refreshful to several who were there. After reading, a motion was made, that it might

might be given to these brethren who had the charge of preparing the monitory bill, and there the matter rested. The same was also the fate of other proposals of that kind. The brethren named were sincerely faithful to their trust; the paper was well digested and free; and he doubts not but that, through the Lord's blessing, it would have done much good: yet it appears that it could not go down with our chief doers; for it was never brought in, neither to that nor any subsequent assembly; and the matter dropt entirely. The heavy yoke of persecution had pressed us long, and by a chain of wonders was now taken off; and hereby many were inclined to easy courses; and an excessive aversion from what they apprehended might be irritating, and bring us into trouble, proved a snare. PHILOMATHES shall be loath to judge too harshly: our necks were just as taken off from the block, our settlement was in a weak and infant estate, and our adversaries were many and strong: hence such methods were thought adviseable, that we might not too much provoke them; and that, if possible, some of them might be gained, at least, to entertain more favourable impressions of Presbytery. Notwithstanding he must use the freedom, in a Testamentary Memorial, to represent to his survivors that such politics were matter of heavy sorrow to the most eminently gracious he knew, as being the fair disguises of sin-covering, wherein none ever did, or shall † prosper. For his own part, he must declare, that ever since the Lord opened his eyes, mercies of a more common nature, and especially such as were great and signal, proved melting and humbling. They were made the strongest and most efficacious remembrancers of his sins; the reflection, upon a particular view, was plain and native; "Have I thus requited a good and gracious Lord?" Views of Christ in the mercy became a spring of mournfulness, more full ‡ and plentiful than he can well express; and he expected that it would have proven more generally so. Neither could he observe that these accommodations had any good effect; for though they pleased these of the

† Prov. xxviii. 13. Psalm xxxii. 2, 3, 4, &c.

‡ Zech. xi. 10. Deut. xxii. 6.

higher rank, who had no true respect nor heart-love either to us or our principles, and had no higher regards than to serve themselves by the establishment, yet others stuck not to condemn that temporising, as not fully honest, nor suitable to our principles; and our adversaries were rather emboldened and enraged, and gained by measures which too much bewrayed a fear of them. He hath extended this paragraph beyond his design and expectation; and it is with much reluctancy that he gives characters; yet as he therein deals sincerely, so he hath a becoming deference to persons of note and worth, who may differ from him.

(2.) About that time a solemn Fast was appointed, neither much in a way, nor to be observed on a day suitable to the nature of that work: Our church was then, and often afterward, remiss in using that power wherewith the Lord hath intrusted the overseers of his house, *viz.* authoritatively to enjoin fasts and thanksgivings. He acknowledgeth that a neglect could not be much blamed, as matters were circumstanced at that time, while we were but arising out of the dust, and scarcely had any representative, *viz.* a little before the meeting of our first General Assembly. Thus the State prevented their moving that way, and appointed a fast to be celebrated on the Lord's day. He could not relish supervenient appointments cast in upon that day, which hath its institution and business already determined by our Lord: Besides that fasting seemed improper for a day, whose work is rather to rejoice in the sweet complement of redemption by the resurrection of Christ. PHILOMATHES was then occasionally in a great and populous city, (he nameth neither times, persons nor places, in a narration purposely intended to be covered in all such regards) and did mightily incline to be only a hearer; not from any straitening he was under to preach on a Sabbath-day; but in regard of some freedom he reckoned himself obliged to use at such a season, which yet he was loath to venture upon, being young and but peeping out towards some little appearance in the church. Nevertheless he yielded to importunity, and consented to take one of the diets. The place of scripture whereunto he was led brought him under an inevitable necessity to
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use some freedom, which yet, through the Lord's merciful conduct, came to be so managed, that the most critical of his hearers (and there were diverse of that set) found nothing they thought worthy of challenge, or at least advanced no other, save that they looked upon it as too bold an adventure for a young man to dip so far into matters of a public concernment, notwithstanding that the purposes were delivered humbly, modestly, and with a great deference both to Church and State, as they themselves acknowledged. The words were *, "The crown is fallen from our heads; wo unto us that we have sinned." He shall not detain his reader with an abstract of that large discourse: only such points therein mentioned gave such a character of PHILOMATHES as put an end to motions which had been made by the chief doers towards his settlement there, though yet no person expressed the least distaste to himself, and he accounts it his great mercy to have been delivered from a post of so great concourse. He thought it his duty sincerely to represent, in sundry particulars, the flourishing state of the Church of Scotland, when it was in its prime as to doctrine, worship, discipline and government, and the notable strains of heroical zeal for the same, which sometimes appeared eminently amongst our nobility, gentry, ministers of the gospel, and commons of several ranks and denominations. And in a peculiar manner he took notice of that gracious † presence of the Lord, and the power which accompanied and followed ordinances in these happy days, to the admirable demolishing of Satan's kingdom, and a great advancement of the kingdom of our Lord Jesus. He pretends not hereby to approve every thing in the management of that excellent work: no business can be either commenced or carried on by sinful men without some failures and blemishes in the conduct. Nevertheless as the work in bulk and in the main was glorious, so he thinks God did set his seal unto it by a plentiful effusion of the gifts and graces of his Spirit, the conversion of many souls, a building them up in their most holy faith, and diverse other evidences that

* Lam. v. 16.
Psaln cx. 3, &c.

† Psalm lxi. 1, 2, 3. Rom. i. 16.

the Lord was with us, into the detail whereof he cannot descend. The glory of the Lord filling the first tabernacle *, and afterwards the temple, was one sure indication of his approving the fabric, as built according to the pattern shewed on the mount; and our covenanted work of reformation had his testimony, much of the like nature, in a suitableness to the New Testament dispensation of the gospel covenant. As it had been with Judah, so it was sometimes with us, the integrity and power of divine institutions made us beautiful; that was both their and our crown. Hereby he was led, as by the hand, calmly, but with a deep concern, to narrate how the crown had fallen from our heads in all the fore-mentioned regards, as to doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, and to a humble condescension upon the chief steps of our defection, which none of our communion could disown to be such. He also expressed his sincere and grateful acknowledgments of the Lord's singular mercy to us in that great turn of affairs, whereby he had delivered and set us at liberty from the heavy yoke of persecution, under which we groaned for many years; and did make honourable mention of that eminent instrument of our deliverance, the famous King William, together with several things wherein the hand of the Lord appeared eminently in the whole conduct of that matter. Hereupon he subsumed in the sincerity of his heart, and with much concern before the Lord, that he judged it our positive and indispensable duty to own, as our crown, that pitch of reformation in heart and sanctuary, to which the Lord had happily raised us; as also to acknowledge freely and fully our own defections from the same, humbly and earnestly intreating that what we know not the Lord would teach us †; and as it might please the Lord to guide, to lay out ourselves in a pressing after what we have fallen from.

(3.) The strain of doctrine just now mentioned, however acceptable to Zion's mourners, was notwithstanding uneasy to many, and to persons of note who managed

* Exodus xx. 34. 1 Kings viii throughout. 2 Chron. v. 13. † Job xxxiv. 31, 32. Psalm xxvi. 1, 2. and cxxxix. 23.

our business in the church and state at that time. Yet it pleased the Lord, who guideth "the wayfaring men, though fools," in his way, to enable him to so much of caution, tenderness and affection in the delivery, that, through grace, he feared not to answer, though he had been openly prosecuted: But nothing was challenged within his hearing, directly or indirectly; upon the contrary, he was used courteously, and afterwards invited (though a probationer) to preach the sermon before the election of the Magistracy for the ensuing season, and was entertained at the treat usual on such occasions.— This was, in effect, an honourable dismissal; such a tenor of doctrine having been utterly disrelished by our leading men, as contrary to the prudential expedients then laid down, and disagreeable unto a sort of moderation which was much in vogue. Hence there was no more word about his settlement in that place; and it was thought proper to suppress, in the most cautious and decent ways, all appearances of that sort, so far as was possible, though the evidence of truth and duty in the case could not well admit an open opposition. Men involved one way and another, and some engaged very deeply in the defections of former times, did then sit at the helm of our affairs; and others of a like set succeeded to them, who being unhumbled, could never endure the mentioning of public evils, or enquiring impartially into the causes of the Lord's just controversies against us.

(4.) In the penury of ministers, which was great for sundry years after the great Revolution, he could not remain long unsettled. A competition of two calls assailed him very quickly, and more were like to follow. This brought him into considerable straits, because of his aversion from all places which then moved for him. He had grounds, which appeared weighty to him, but inclineth not to mention them, being unwilling to interest others unnecessarily into his Memoirs, who, it was expected, might have acted another part. He inclined to have waved them all, and to have attended a fitter opportunity, and it is like would have done so, had he not been brought into an uneasy pinch, in regard church judicatories were like to interpose in favours of a noble-

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man, who had the chief sway at that time, and was like to obtain a settling him at the place of his residence: and because he could by no means agree to that proposal, he went into another too suddenly; chusing of the two inconveniencies that which he thought the least. So far did the softness and too great pliability of his temper render him averse even from necessary contendings; and his fears of displeasing some of our chief managers were at that time in an excess. Thus he settled at first too precipitantly, yet he acted with somewhat of singleness in the matter, having apprehended difficulties that swayed him to be greater than really they were. And as from first to last he still declared his straitenedness, so in the good providence of the Lord a particular engaging him to the place was left out in his admission. He declines naming the parish * in a narration designed to be cryptic as to all circumstances of that kind. Only it was a stage of various actings, and troubles whereof he tenders the subsequent narration to his honest survivors.

HEAD III.—(1.) To pass various difficulties about secular concerns, which yet as circumstanced were considerably trying, it surprized him to find the character of the people in bulk, much different from what he had projected; for generally they had a large profession, but many of them were grossly ignorant, lamentably worldly, not square in their dealings, and guilty of sundry immoralities. This he remarks, without disparaging such as feared the Lord, or were more docile and tractable amongst them. Nevertheless, upon consideration of the premises, he found it his indispensable duty publicly, and from house to house, to detect with plainness and pointedness the several delusions which had possessed their minds.—This proved mostly astonishing to them, and wrought a great disgust in many: yet all was carried fair and without any open breach; on which accounts his lot would have been very uncomfortable, had not the Lord blessed his poor labours for the bringing home of some who,

* This is well known to have been the parish of Dalsers, in the presbytery of Hamilton. *Edit.*

both in life and death, gave pleasant evidences of a gracious and saving change. These were almost wholly of the younger size, who had not been rooted, and hardened in an empty and false profession.

(2.) Considering their great profession as aforesaid, he expected, that at least they would be almost universally acquainted with the common principles of religion contained in our catechisms; especially seeing that some of them were so strict, that there were not many amongst Presbyterian ministers they had freedom to hear, besides a few who had separated to the highest pitches: Of these last he can say nothing, because they would not converse with him. For the rest, he expected that his work would chiefly consist in raising some fabric upon the received and known foundations. While abroad, he had acquaintance with sundry of the commonalty, who not only knew the principles of religion, but were also tolerably well versed in the controversial parts of theology; and therefore he thought himself obliged in charity not to look upon persons, who professed so much, as altogether rude: But he quickly found himself mistaken; which affected him not a little. Some few he found intelligent, yet many, of whom he had better thoughts, were very ignorant: having patched and kept up a sort of profession, without ever making it their business to learn. This obliged him to lay aside his former designs, and wholly to apply himself, publicly and privately, to teach them the plain grounds of revealed truth, as it might please the Lord to direct and furnish him. Herein he found sweet complacency in his own soul, and was refreshed with visible evidences of success amongst diverse of his flock.

(3.) In the management of his ministerial business, with respect to these who were in reputation beyond others, he used a kind of secret catechism, wherein the substance of a special and efficacious work of grace and power upon the soul was summed up. He repeats it not here, having accounted otherwise for that matter: Besides that the most of them were published since that time in his Sacramental Notes. These queries were of use to him, as a sort of covered directory, which he variously

riously used, illustrated and accommodated, as the several exigencies of persons and things rendered adviseable. The same method he afterwards followed in private trial with reference to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; without prejudice to the stated rules about the admission to or seclusion from that distinguishing ordinance, which our known principles bear. He acknowledgeth that the Lord was pleased to guide him herein, in some degree; and in this way he found a manifold advantage: for hereby sundry delusions came to be detected, and occasions to see them were ministered to those who have a name to live, and yet remained dead. Thus also they who were sincerely exercised to godliness, but in much confusion, got matters cleared to them, and the dangers into which they were, or readily would be brought, being discovered, occasions were given to prevent or remedy them.

(4.) He acknowledgeth his utter † insufficiency for that great work, and that he laboured under wants and weaknesses, wherein he thinks not he had a parallel: notwithstanding he leaves it on this record with his survivors, that he hath some peace in a back-look upon his aims, though he laments his great shortcoming as to the performance, and in regard it will compendise his work, he inclines to set them down at once. 1st, It was thro' grace his endeavour to be free ‡ of rancour throughout the whole of his way; and in particular in religious and ministerial duties, knowing that such a temper of spirit is of absolute necessity for acceptance therein; and in so far as his own passions did at times insensibly creep in, as that was still bitter to him, so the jealousy he entertained concerning himself procured a discerning strains of that kind very quickly. 2dly, When and in so far as he found any guilt of having given offence to one or other, as he was sincerely desirous to know it, so he could enjoy no peace, nor find access to the Lord, until he did instantly set about what was incumbent upon him for the removal thereof §: both in this, and all other ref-

† 2 Cor. iii. 3, 4, 5. Job xv. 3. Jer. x. 23, &c.

‡ Mat. v. 23, 24. 1 Tim. ii. 8. Col. iii. 12, 13. Eph. ix. 30, 31. § James v. 16. Luke xvii. 1, 2, 3. Mat. xviii. 8, 9, &c.

pects, it was his business to have a conscience clear, as to the regarding in his heart any iniquity whatsoever. 3dly, The tenor of his own tossings was made of use to him in the several concerns of that important work, towards the detecting a natural estate in its various covers and disguises, pointing out the distinguishing marks of the real Christian, which difference him from the most subtle and painted hypocrite, unvailing the various arts of hell in a covered mingling of the two Covenants, of works and grace, setting the deceits of Antinomianism in some clearness of light, &c. : of which he needs not treat particularly. His own struggles and issues were made also useful to him, both in his more stated labours, and also as to the choice of purposes on other occasions, and even the most solemn of them. He still was and continueth to be of a low size, as to special and saving illumination; yet it was his advantage that the little he knew, being in some measure distinct, rendered his study and mints at his work the more easy, as it pleased the Lord to give influences. He reckoned himself indispensibly obliged to use much freedom in giving clear || warning to persons of all sorts, which brought him under some sorts of persecution; and yet he cannot complain that he suffered much on that score; the Lord having meekened his Spirit, and directed the poor way-faring man, though a fool, to some prudent measures. He adds no more on this head, but shall proceed to the IV. and last part of this too long Memorial, namely, The conflicts he had about matters of a more public nature, and wherein he was by many reputed guilty of innumerable singularities.

|| Ezek. iii. and chap. xxxiii. 2 Tim. iv. 2, 3, 4, &c.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

Our Author's Trouble occasioned by the Imposition of the Oath of Allegiance, and the Assurance. Declares the Grounds of his Scruple about them in Public. A Presbyterial Visitation appointed, and a Process begun by the Presbytery against him on that Account.

HE intends to give, as the Lord enableth him, an ingenuous historical account of all that he can overtake, (on this head) and shall not conceal any wrong steps he made, so far as he can discern, that his survivors may guard against these rocks, being willing and earnestly desirous to know the utmost of the respective matters. It is meet to be said to the Lord, "What I know not, teach thou me, and whereinfoever I have done iniquity, let me do so no more *." He knows that diverse excellent persons whom he respects and honours, will not approve the measures he thought himself obliged to take, yet he presumes they shall not take it ill, that he represent some of his motives, for others may be known from his prints. He purposeth to use entire freedom, and to be thoroughly ingenuous in an essay which he designs for his Testament, and hath reason to expect that his friends and brethren who differ from him, will do him the justice to think that he deals cordially and honestly.

(1.) Having in this manner continued plying his business, as aforesaid, for two years or thereby, he had both much delight and wanted not some little success in his aims, endeavouring, as the Lord directed and furnished him, to raze false and insufficient foundations, and demolish

* Job xxxiv. 31, 32.

molish fabrics raised upon the † sand, to point out the only right way, and to feed his flock with knowledge and understanding, desiring to know and make known nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified, and to go on in the strength of the Lord, making mention of his righteousness, and his only. This was the state of matters with him in some measure, when the Estates of parliament caused publish their act, obliging, amongst others in civil trust, all ministers of the gospel to swear the oath of Allegiance, and subscribe the Assurance to King William and Queen Mary. A little after this, an act came forth, intituled, "Act for settling the Peace and Quiet of the Church," wherein it is proposed in express terms, that none shall be allowed to be ministers or preachers within this church, except they take the oath of Allegiance, and subscribe the Assurance. The latter act came not to his knowledge till a considerable while after it was made.

(2.) This was indeed surprising and uneasy, yet for some while he saw not an insuperable difficulty in taking the oath, or rather he was not much or closely exercised about the thing. He remembers that when some reasonings on either hand did pass amongst the members of the presbytery to which he belonged, he chused to be silent, or at least to say very little, in regard he had no positive light, nor was determined either the one way or the other: Nevertheless the burden was kept off from his mind, and he enjoyed sweet ‡ enlargement of heart in the Lord's ways. At this time some necessary affairs carried him to Edinburgh, where he tarried but a night, and had some little transient communication with judicious and discerning Christians upon the head. The thing was not closely enquired into, nor did the strictness of time allow a particular disquisition; yet he thereby understood how the choicest among them he knew, did not incline that ministers should take that oath. Nevertheless all this while his thoughts came not to be fixed

† Mat. vii from the 24th ver. Luke vi. 41. Jer. iii. 15. and chap. xxiii. 4. 1 Cor. ii. 12. Psalm lxxi. 14, 15, 16. &c.

‡ Psalm cxix. 32.

upon the case, though the time for swearing, determined by the act, was drawing near.

(3.) At length, when PHILOMATHES was not, to his remembrance, either thinking upon the question, or entertaining any aversion from taking the oath, and might have been, for what appeared, easily persuaded to comply, a scriptural passage was borne in upon him with serene sweetness, and yet also with the awfulness of a check, namely, "Now therefore why tempt ye God to bring a yoke upon the necks of the disciples, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear †" The place had no connection with his thoughts at the time when it was sweetly and powerfully suggested to him, yet by degrees he saw further into it. He inclines not to resume in this manner sundry particulars whereof he hath given further accounts otherwise, and several of his thoughts about this case are in print, though neither published by him, nor with his consent. In a word, he remembered that for several years we had been plagued with a croud of oaths, all calculated, one way or another, to extinguish the sense of that inviolable obligation which lieth upon these lands by our covenants. And afterwards, he also considered that these covenants, with the Allegiance contained therein, had been declared void and null: The estates of parliament had rescinded them with high expressions of hatred and contempt; and tho' this was known, and remembered at the framing of the Claim of Rights, yet our rulers deliberately laid them aside, and left the acts made against them unrepeatd, &c. He resumeth not the debate in this Memorial; his sentiments, with the grounds that support them, are known to his friends otherwise. In a word, he believes, and thinks no Christian can contradict it, that no unlimited allegiance is due to any creature; and when he was brought upon after considerations to remember, that our covenant allegiance containeth the true and scriptural limitation of allegiance, that these covenants, with the allegiance therein contained, were rescinded, and that in particular all limitations of allegiance, together with that of our covenants, were expressly condemned by law, and that these laws were left standing, and a new allegiance

† Acts xv. 10.

giance oath was put in the room thereof by our Claim of Right, he must confess he could not escape what he thought a just aversion from this new oath, which wanteth the scriptural and covenant qualifications, and leaves nothing else to qualify and limit it, save what were or might afterwards be the laws of the land. He thought the Correlates pretty obvious in the case, *vis.* the sovereign swears to rule by law, and the subjects oath (wanting the scriptural qualification or limitation) in correspondence therewith bears our engaging to obey according to law, and so imports some approbation of laws, wherewith he could not in conscience be fully satisfied; and yet as with his heart he approves the scriptural and covenant allegiance, so he ever was, and is willing upon a just call, to swear the same. But no more of this, seeing it is not his business to dispute in a Testamentary Memorial. Touching the scriptural passage, Acts xv. 10. from which his aversion took its first rise, he saw clearly the political design and tendency, which could not but prove ensnaring, by obliging gospel ministers to swear, as the several turns of government, and claims raised upon them, would move the prevailing party to demand. Thus a foundation was laid for wreathing about our necks a heavy yoke of oaths, as the several interests and competitions that might arise, would give occasion for them. Upon these and the like considerations, and that the ministry might be kept free of that yoke, which, in process of time, might be further hurtful to it, he thought it most advisable to decline the same in the entry; and so much the rather, for that we had the happiness to live under the government of one of the best and mildest of kings, to whom our loyalty was well known, to whom we might very freely have represented our principles, and with all humble deference remonstrated the just state of allegiance, as the scriptures require it, and it is stated in our covenants. But, oh! that pitch of just reformation was soon relinquished or forgotten by us. He hopes his honest reader will entertain or pardon his freedom suitable to a testament.

(4.) Some while after, when he saw the act of parliament for settling the peace and quiet of the church, and understood from it, that a swearing allegiance and
 subscribing

subscribing the assurance were required by law, as a necessary qualification, without which none were allowed to be ministers or preachers within the same: This act appearing to him to be of an Erastian strain did heighten his reluctance. Hence upon these and other grounds, for which he hath accounted in another way, he thought it his duty to decline the swearing required. This his purpose he first communicated to the elders of the congregation, and afterwards to the hearers together with them, in a joint meeting of both; and by their advice, he sent one expressly with a letter containing so much, addressed to the Dutchess of Hamilton. His Grace the Duke was their Majesties Commissioner to the estates of parliament then sitting, and which had enacted the oath; and they thought this the most habile method for acquainting his Grace of the state of that matter. The letter contained a pretty large account of his humble, dutiful, and most just respects to their Majesties, whom the Lord had brought to the imperial throne of these realms by a tract of wonders, and honoured to be the instruments of a great deliverance and many signal blessings to us. He acknowledged, that, under God, we owed our liberties, our lives, and the exercise of our religion unto them, upon which, and other valuable accounts, he owned his being in conscience obliged to all these duties unto them, which his station demanded, with the most obsequious and chearful submission. He declared also, that the pleasant ties of love and gratitude laid the sweetest obligations upon him to any piece of service a person so obscure might be made capable to perform, in maintaining their Majesties title against the late King James, and all other opposers of the same.— Withal he humbly represented, that it was not from any, even the smallest dissatisfaction with the government, that he declined taking the oaths, but from some concomitants of them, which were straitning to his conscience, and for which he was willing to account, but that it was not proper to condescend, and enlarge upon them in that manner. This line was delivered to the Dutchess, and was also seen by his Grace, their Majesties' High Commissioner to the estates of parliament; and none of them, for what he knows, expressed the least

least resentment, but, upon the contrary, much kindness was shewed to him by both their Graces in any little business he had with them after that time.

(5.) Having thus far proceeded, he laid that matter aside, without any design or the least thought of one further step, but did resolve with quietness to await the issue. — He also longed to get out of a scene of contention, from which his soft nature is averse to an excess, and was wholly intent upon the unquestionable duties of his Christian and ministerial station. Notwithstanding he could not escape many close reasonings with some persons of good note, both in church and state, and of great abilities, who plied him hard, yet in a friendly way, and left no mean of that kind un essayed for persuading him to a compliance. He questions not but that the strongest reasons were advanced, and the most pressing motives used, which the matter could well admit, for we were to the utmost concerned, and in earnest on both hands, and the contests were the more uneasy to him, because of the deference he had to the contenders, and his just respects to many godly and excellent persons, from whom it was most uneasy to him to differ. Notwithstanding when he seriously considered the matter, and brought the concerns thereof before the Lord, as he was enabled, he could not find any real weight in their arguments, as binding him in a point of conscience. They were for a great part political, and and consisted much of prudential considerations, to which he opposed others more truly and scripturally prudential, and therefore the more prevalent with him. And as to prudentials, the prospect of success, and acceptance of his ministry in the consciences of his hearers, bore the great sway with him, which, as he could not reasonably expect in ways of compliance which were uneasy to his conscience, so worldly advantages purchased at the sad rate of imposing upon it had no alluring aspect to him. Thus he continued at a point, and resolved not to take the oath; but in a frail and sickly state of body, which perhaps was heightened both by the weightedness of his mind for the almost universal compliance of his Reverend Brethren, and also by the uneasy contests to which he was constrained by some, from whom it was most heavy to him to differ.

(6.) Some

(6.) Some little while after this, a providential occurrence fell in, which brought PHILOMATHES under many and great troubles. He pretends not to justify, nor dare he peremptorily condemn, his conduct in this business, but shall simply narrate the matter of fact, together with the motives that bore weight with him; and he leaves it to his honest survivors to judge in the whole, as they shall find cause.

Upon a Sabbath wherein his congregation was vacant, he being unable to preach, the bulk of his flock went to hear a probationer of good note, who, at the desire of the Presbytery, preached in the neighbourhood, and the confluence to hear him was the greater, both because of the good character he bore, and likewise upon the account of the invitation he had from two several parishes to settle amongst us. This gentleman took occasion to speak of the Allegiance oath, and to signify his approbation of the practice of ministers in taking the same. He was also pleased so far to resent the refusal of some few, that a general demur was wrought amongst the people. PHILOMATHES hath a just respect for the gentleman, who is yet alive, and in good repute, and doubts not but that he spoke with caution and tenderness, according to the general sentiments, to which he also agreed. Nevertheless the thing became hereby matter of discourse and dispute through the whole country. Neither can it be denied, but that the people had interest, and wanted to be informed about the case, in regard the law obliged the callers of ministers to swear the Allegiance and subscribe the Assurance, as without which they had no legal access to call; and the vacancy of sundry congregations at that time rendered the qualification of callers the more just, and proper matter of enquiry to persons of a more private station, as well as to ministers. PHILOMATHES understood also that his declining the oath was become very notour, and aspersed amongst persons of honour and great influence in the government; and that some who had a leading stroke that way did sadly mistake and misrepresent his refusal, as proceeding from schismatical and disloyal principles. Sundry aspersions were cast upon him at that time, and found credit, whereof he inclines not to make any particular mention, only they were of

of a nature and tendency subversive of the credit of his ministry; and hence he resolved upon a public vindication, of which he had no thought before the fore-mentioned attack. He leaves the matter entire to his honest readers, some of whom may readily condemn this step. Neither shall he dispute the matter with them, nor advance any thing else towards his defence, or alleviating the matter, save that he was resolved to manage herein with all possible caution, and with a just regard to the ministry of this church, who were almost universally otherwise minded. Accordingly upon a following Lord's day, at the close of the afternoon's sermon, he did calmly, and with great respect to his reverend and worthy brethren, essay to take off the aspersions which had been cast upon his practice in declining the oath, and to rectify the mistakes about it, under which several of his own congregation and others did labour, and to which (tho' with much reluctance) he notwithstanding judged himself obliged, from the regard he thought was due to the credit of his ministry. He expressed the most humble and high deference to their sacred Majesties, much in the tenor of that letter before-mentioned, which, with consent of his heritors and elders, he had written to her Grace the Dutchess of Hamilton. He represented his sense of that great deliverance, whereof the Lord had made the happy instruments, and that from a just regard to the Divine command, and the pleasant ties of love and gratitude, he reckoned himself and all the subjects obliged to whatsoever the Lord requires of duty and allegiance in their several stations. He also represented his regard to their just power and greatness, in the most particular, close and strongest terms he could fall upon, with the utmost ingenuity, and that he abhorred the extremes to which many have declined, who reject both magistracy and ministry, ordinances of the Lord, to which he represented his high and just respect. He also declared, that he looked upon them as best secured by these solemn vows and covenants, which sometime were more generally reputed our glory, and the obligation whereof is inviolable, and still lieth upon these lands; and as he believed the covenant qualifications of our allegiance are the only scriptural ones, so he hereby confessed

feſſed he had no freedom to go into an allegiance of another tenor, without theſe qualifications and limitations; and that he found ſuch a practice, being a path much untrodden, and not of a piece with theſe of our worthy anceſtors, might prove of a dangerous conſequence and tendency. Having repreſented ſundry conſiderations to this and the like purpoſes (for he cannot remember the words) he declined entering further upon the debate, his deſign having been mainly to take off ſuch aſperſions as were like to prove hurtful to his miniſtry, and not to condemn others, of whatſoever denomination.

(7.) Having taken off aſperſions, and exonerated his conſcience in ſo far, he was mightily aſſaulted with fears leſt the adventure ſhould be taken in very bad part by the Reverend Preſbytery to which he then belonged, and therefore he wrote an ingenuous letter to one of the brethren, which he deſired might be communicated to them at their firſt meeting (himſelf having fallen under bodily indiſpoſition); wherein he gave a plain account of what had paſſed, and of the motives which determined him (under many ſtruggles) to ſpeak of that difficult and tickliſh matter; and having wiped off ſuch aſperſions, which he feared might impair the credit of his miniſtry, he declared his ſincere purpoſe not to intermeddle any more with ſuch matters in the courſe thereof; and repreſented with candour and plainneſs, his great and utter averſion from contending, and inclination, ſo far as ſhould be poſſible, to abſtain from whatſoever might have any, tho' even but a remote influence upon uneaſy conteſts amongſt the judicious and godly on either hand. The real truth was, that though many a time he found much enlargement of heart in thankfulneſs to the Lord, who had mercifully preſerved him from what he looked upon as a ſnare, yet conſidering that the whole miniſtry of the church of Scotland, excepting a very few, had taken the oath, he was far from the leaſt thought or deſign to ſtate himſelf as a party againſt them all, and was ſatisfied that no obligation (ſo far as he could diſcern) did lie upon him from the Lord to any ſtep beyond the practical teſtimony of non-compliance. He was ſtrongly convinced of the manifold evils which are inlaid with the diſhauſting of ordinances, whereunto he found ſome godly perſons

sons much inclined at that time, the compliance under view having been uneasy to many, and but too much aggravated by them. For his part, he esteemed it his duty, so far as might consist with uprightness and honesty, to maintain the credit of gospel ministers, whom he ought to hear. He was also afraid, lest an ecclesiastical pursuit should have been commenced against him by the Reverend Presbytery, and therefore he used this precaution from sincere and most earnest desires to live in peace, harmony, and amity with them; yet the fore-mentioned ingenuous declaration of his mind, and real designs, found not so much credit as to prevent it. He had done his utmost to prevent, by an ingenuous confession, the bad offices of backbiting whisperers, who, he knew, would aggravate matters, but his expectation of the desired effects failed him.

(8.) At the very first meeting (which he could not attend for bodily frailty) instead of the regard he thought they would have to his ingenuous declaration, they were pleased to appoint a visitation of the parish of D—, of which he then had the charge, and ordered an advertisement hereof to be sent unto him. This appointment surprised and affected him not a little, and the rather for that there was only the space of one entire day, and part of another, betwixt the advertisement he received and the time of the visitation, which he, however frail, was also required to open by a sermon, and enjoined to acquaint the elders and other inhabitants of the parish concerning the diet. They also wrote to an heritor to inform the rest of the heritors. Thus all his endeavours to prevent an open process were in vain, notwithstanding his frail and diseased state of body, which pleaded compassion, and he had thought might have at least procured the favour of a delay. When the day came, he preached according to appointment; and removed, expecting their censure of the sermon, but that being no part of their business, and nothing under controversy having been advanced therein, they declared they were satisfied. The Moderator *pro tempore*, (for PHILOMATHES himself had moderated for some time before), having opened the meeting by prayer, required him,

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1st, To narrate to the Presbytery that which he had spoken in public concerning the allegiance oath; after that, by way of preamble, he had compared the taking, or not taking, the required oath, to the eating or not eating of flesh, keeping or not keeping of days to the Lord. PHILLOMATHES thought this strange, and not suitable to the case under view, in regard such things were truly indifferent, so long as the Christian liberty of the churches was not more generally published. Before he answered to the main, he moved to know, whether the Reverend Presbytery would allow him to give a return to the prefatory discourse; which, they declining, he submitted, and gave an ingenuous account of what he spake, and the reasons moving him thereunto, as aforesaid.

He was, 2dly, called to account why he had invited H. * to preach with him, in regard there was a design on foot to process the said H. and that the Synod of G. and A. had resolved, that no minister within their bounds should invite him to preach for or with them: To this he answered; that H. for whom he had a just respect, and who was his intimate friend, had come to see him just on the Saturday before; he had no previous knowledge of that visit; he was absent from the synodical meeting, by reason of bodily indisposition, and not at all of design; no intimation of that resolution had been notified, neither did he know of it before the invitation given. Being further asked, whether that resolution had been notified to him by a gentleman of the parish upon the very day of his preaching: He answered, that the gentleman did indeed acquaint him, but not till after that the congregation was met, and that we were just a going into the church, but not by commission, nor upon any legal document or evidence, but from his own private reluctancy, to which PHILLOMATHES had no great regard. And seeing neither then, nor ever after was any such synodical act produced to him, he thought not himself obliged to give full credit to a current report. And so far as he had cause to think that the spring of that intended process was the opposition he made to ministers taking the allegiance oath, he saw no just cause of

* Mr. Hepburn, minister of Orr, in Galloway. *Edit.*

of aversion from him on that head. And the real truth was, the circumstanced state of that affair was such, that he could not have hindered his preaching, though he had determined so to do.

3dly, The Moderator *pro tempore* enquired, whether PHILOMATHES since that time, as Moderator of the Presbytery, according to their appointment, signified to him by two of the brethren, and the judgment of the Presbytery of G. communicated to them by the Moderator of the said Presbytery, had written to the Moderator of the Presbytery of Dumfries, desiring them either to call H. before themselves, or appoint him to appear before this Presbytery, to answer for the irregularities committed by him within their bounds. To this he answered in effect, (for he cannot remember the words) that if his preaching against the defections of the present and former times be reputed an irregularity, he could not be of the same mind with the Reverend Brethren on that head; and forasmuch as he had cause to think that the chief spring of the intended process was his resenting the practice of ministers in taking the oath, as PHILOMATHES thought strange of the appointment laid upon him, so it could not reasonably be expected that he should have any hand in a pursuit on that head. Touching other irregularities, he knew not the circumstanced cases relating to them, nor had any particular account of them from the brethren deputed to speak with him: and though he would not take upon him to defend the mistakes and disorders of his management, yet he could not approve the method of processing as suited to the ends we ought to propose, and sincerely thought it would prove very prejudicial to this church, by encreasing the old and forming a new schism, which might be prevented in more amicable ways; especially seeing many stumbling-blocks are cast in the way of one and other in our day, and the eminent piety of the man is known to many. He also told the brethren that such courses would not prosper, as also appeared in effect.

4thly, He was moreover interrogated, whether any dissention had arisen in the Session from his refusing and signifying in public that he had declined to take the allegiance oath? He answered, that for some time after he had spoken, as aforesaid, nothing of that kind appeared,

ed, until, upon an occasional meeting of two or three elders, and a few of the people to whom PHILOMATHES was imparting some of the grounds which procured his declining to swear, one of the elders insulted him, by breaking out into virulent and bitter expressions, which PHILOMATHES loveth not to rehearse, and were taken in bad part by the body of the congregation. At the next meeting of the session that elder did really lay down his charge, but with solemn and strong expressions, that he utterly disapproved the taking that oath by any minister, and was well satisfied with PHILOMATHES's refusal, but considering that some things spoken hastily by him had given much distaste to the people, and impaired his credit, he thought his continuing a member would be uneasy, would weaken the authority of the session, and and lessen the deference due to that court from such as afterwards might be brought under process before them; that it was upon these accounts, and a just regard to the session, and not from any approbation of the taking of that oath by ministers, that he had moved in that matter. So much for that examination.

As to the dimission mentioned in the last interrogatory; he cannot think it was any thing else, save the effect of a sudden passion, because the congregation (for most part) was displeased, and somewhat he thought in PHILOMATHES's doctrine had touched him too near.— Had it been of the Lord, or had he been truly called of God to that office, it is not presumed he would have laid it down upon a fit of pride and anger. But all was sudden in that management: the man was inexorable; and would not allow so much as one minute for reasoning the matter. PHILOMATHES, though in the main he was satisfied in point of light, that he had cause to refuse the required oath yet (for what he knows) would not have stood it out against any conviction of wrong in his conduct about that difficult matter, and the thing might have been adjusted upon a fair reasoning; for beyond doubt PHILOMATHES was not free of wrong steps on his part, which might have given a handle to the fore-said precipitant course; and in such cases the duty is plain: “ Confess your faults * one to another, and pray one

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* James v. 16.

one for another." But though earnestly intreated, he gave no occasion for this calm reasoning, and posted away in a violent passion. Howsoever surprising this emergent was, yet he afterwards saw much of mercy in it; and that the continuance of a person so touchy and disordered would have proven very uneasy to him and others. PHILOMATHES remembers not that he used any argument, or spoke so much as one word, either to retain or recover him; but, upon the contrary, he gave them all free liberty to demit, and was satisfied in case a way had been opened to his own demission by that mean; but none of them followed his bad example, nor made any such motion afterwards. He now returns to the thread of the narration.

5thly. After the foresaid trial, PHILOMATHES was required to remove, and courteously desired to attend in his own chamber till he should be again called. In the mean while each of the present elders were examined apart upon what they remembered was spoken by PHILOMATHES, with respect to the oath, who, he was informed, did all, in like manner, give ingenuous accounts, and no inconsistency betwixt theirs and that of PHILOMATHES was so much as alledged. After that he had tarried a considerable while in his chamber, in company with some heritors and others, who expressed their respect and kindness by bearing him company on the occasion, (though he could rather have wished to have been alone) a reverend member of the presbytery (with whom also correspondents from another presbytery did meet) was sent to acquaint us, that PHILOMATHES was called; and accordingly he went alongst, and compeared. Hereupon the Moderator, in name of the Reverend Presbytery and correspondents, declared their sentence, *viz.* That PHILOMATHES, confess his rashness in having spoken of the Allegiance oath in public; that he promise greater observance of the judicatories in time coming, and in particular that he engage to meddle no more in public with the matter of the oaths.

6thly. However such an issue was surprising and affecting, yet it was heavy to him to think of continuing in the uneasy terms of process with the Reverend Presbytery, and though he could not in conscience come up
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to a compliance with their sentence; yet he was fully resolved to go all the length he possibly could, without offering violence to his light, and did most sincerely and earnestly desire an amicable agreement. On which accounts he ingenuously declared the very bottom of his heart in the matter, and spoke to this effect, (for he wrote Memoirs of these affairs) viz. That he had no design, nor so much as the least thought or inclination, of speaking one word in public concerning that controverted matter, till brought under what he apprehended to be an indispensable obligation for retrieving the credit of his ministry, and to take off aspersions which had been cast upon it; and in regard he thought he had kept measures with his duty in so far, it would have been the grossest dissimulation for him to acknowledge an offence, where he could see none. Nevertheless, that he might evidence his sincere and strong desires of peace, and willingness to contribute towards it the utmost he could, he acquainted them with his sincere design from thenceforward to abstract in doctrine from purposes of that nature, about which his sentiments and practice were singular. Neither did he see any occasion for it, in the course of his ministry, amongst these of whom he had charge. Yet withal he declared, that by no means he could bind up himself by a promise, not knowing how far the matter might be carried, nor what might afterwards in providence befall, to require somewhat of warning in the case. This did not satisfy, and therefore they dealt with PARLOMATHIS to take their sentence as from a court of Christ, under serious deliberation, until the next presbyterial meeting, seeing it had been seriously considered by them, and was new to him. To this he answered, that a taking of time to consider might be justly reputed to import doubtfulness, from which in the present case he was free; and the inconsistency of such a promise with his sentiments concerning a taking of that oath by ministers, together with what he foresaw as the issue of the trial they had brought him under, hindered the proposals being new to him. Hereupon he intreated them, with all possible earnestness, to accept what he had represented as his determinate and final answer.

7thly, Thus ended the examination for that time, for the Reverend Presbytery would not accept the foresaid answer as satisfactory, and PHILOMATHES had no freedom to go further than ingenuously to signify his real design, without a positive promise, which, though he gave not, yet he remembers not that he meddled with that matter in the course of his ministry, though provocations were not wanting.—Afterwards the brethren entered upon the concert about bringing H. under an ecclesiastical process; whereupon PHILOMATHES withdrew, as utterly disliking the project, which also he signified to them. When the meeting closed PHILOMATHES entertained the brethren, and his yoke-fellow demeaned herself humanely and kindly, welcoming them all to what was provided, though yet she told them that their business was no cause of their welcome, nor would be found acceptable to the Lord. Notwithstanding all was carried in a friendly manner with expressions of respect on either hand. How soon he had access to retire, he seriously pondered the whole management, and though he was conscious to himself of much sinful weakness on his part, yet he could not deny a merciful conduct in the main. In particular he reflected with humble gratitude upon a special stroke of Providence, which the Lord had made very useful to him, *viz.* one of the correspondents, whether sent by the Presbytery, or of his own accord, PHILOMATHES knoweth not, took him aside before his last appearance, and told him, the Brethren, he thought, would require the foresaid promise, and laid out himself to the utmost to persuade him thereunto; and as the Reverend Brother was very fit for a business of that nature, so he left no possible mean untried for prevailing with PHILOMATHES, or, at least, to render him tractable, and willing to take the matter under deliberation. He saw much of mercy in this previous advertisement, that he might be upon his guard; and however not relishing the proposal, yet he kept himself upon the reserve, finding it most proper to delay his answer until it was required before them. All the while he found himself strengthened and cheered beyond expectation, and yet immediately, or very soon after the visitation, he was seized with a quotidian ague, whereunto his body was disposed

disposed before, but then it came to be formed : Hereby he was disabled from preaching for about eleven weeks together.

8thly, During his ague, and not many days after the visitation, a paper was sent to him from the Presbytery, subscribed by the clerk in their name, and he returned a written answer thereunto. The one and the other are long ; he needs not transcribe them at large, but shall leave with his survivors the following ingenuous abstracts of both :—The Reverend Presbytery justify their own practice in having taken the oath, the case, they say, being clearly determined in these articles of Confession that treat of lawful oaths and vows, which made them think strange of his scrupulosity, and yet much more of his speaking concerning that matter in public, it being (they are pleased to say) far from the foundation, and the concern of the vulgar. They find fault with his making such a step without previous consulting of them, even though he judged himself under a necessity to speak somewhat by way of vindication, and represented it as contained in his ordination engagements; that he should walk by the advice of his brethren : From all which they conclude, he ought to be sensible of his rashness, and promise as aforesaid. Hereunto he answered, that in regard he judged a taking that oath, as circumstanced, to be sinful (for some reasons above insinuated, and mentioned more at large otherwise); he could not look upon the case, as determined in the scripture, and by our Confession; that his Reverend Brethren being otherwise minded, and parties in that matter, he wanted not to consult with them; that his ordination engagements could lay no bar upon him from a necessary vindication, when attacked upon what he was persuaded to have been his duty ; and no person upon the face of the earth could deprive him of his right to wipe off aspersions cast upon his ministry by one or other, &c.—In fine, he declared, he could not, in conscience, give the promise required.

9thly, Somewhile after the very Rev. Presbytery judging (though by mistake) that he had dispersed the reasons which induced him to decline swearing the allegiance oath (which yet he had not done), therefore with
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resentment and peremptoriness they enjoined him to send them a double of these arguments. He was at that time very unfit either to write or dictate, because of his intermitting fever; yet, in obedience to their order, he transmitted the chief of them, signed with his own hand. This, he expected, would have opened a way to some settled debate; and howsoever the Reverend Presbytery might justly have thought it below them to enter the lists with so weak a member, yet he presumed some one or other of the brethren would have undertaken that business, and there were communings among them about the matter. He would not think that their tenderness of him in his diseased state of body, had hindered or retarded the motion, considering the former usage he met with: Yet neither then, nor afterwards, when his health was better, did any of them prosecute that motion, tho' yet he had conferences and debates with sundry of the Reverend Brethren about diverse weighty concernments of the time.

10thly, Thus the affair continued in suspense, PHILOMATHES being unable to preach, and the church sometime supplied by the Reverend Presbytery until he recovered health. Then arose new conflicts of which he had no prospect nor notion before. Of these he shall tender a plain and ingenuous account to his dear survivors. The period hath singularities in it, wherein as he will not adventure to justify himself, so neither dare he condemn something which yet may readily appear strange to several of his honest survivors, who shall view these schedules, especially after his death. He only expects the charity or justice of them to account that he managed (howsoever weakly) yet sincerely, in following the light where he thought it clearest, after the closest researches he could attain. He purposeth then to give a plain narration of matters of fact, and of the chief motives which swayed him, especially where some of them may think his conduct most exceptionable; and shall leave the whole under their consideration, and whether they approve or condemn his conduct, he hopes to take all in good part. If they take warning, and be rendered more wise unto salvation, he hath what he intends, seeing

ing it is their edification, and not their esteem, he hath chiefly at heart *.

* He may here take notice of a stroke of Providence, which diverse of his friends observed, and ought to have been set down before. The first Lord's day after the visitation, formerly narrated, the ordinary for singing in the congregation, whereof he had charge, fell to be in a place of scripture, which many of them applied more closely to the trials he then underwent than he durst adventure to do. The words were in our † metre.

He me reliev'd from my strong foes,
And such as did me hate,
Because he saw that they for me
Too strong were and too great.
They me prevented in the day
Of my calamity,
But even then the Lord himself
A stay was unto me, &c.

Thus the worship began of course, and the subject for lecture fell to be (as they thought) no less suitable, viz. † "Therefore seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not, but have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully; but by manifestation of the truth, commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God." He intends not by this to pass any harsh censure upon his Reverend Brethren, though he heartily wisheth they had taken more deliberate, and kindly measures; and some of the chief movers amongst them did afterwards acknowledge so much to himself. He only represents, that the word in public, private and secret was much enlivened to him by sundry passages thereof, which were suitable to his circumstanced cases.

† Psalm xviii. 17, 18.

‡ 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2, 3, 4, &c.

SECTION V.

The abrupt Dissolution of the General Assembly 1692, by the King's Commissioner. The Conduct of the Assembly upon that Event; and of Ministers at the Time appointed for next Meeting. An apologetic Address and Petition for another Assembly surreptitiously procured by some Ministers, and sent to the King. The Author's Remarks. His Dissatisfaction on Account of unfaithful Managements.

TO commence the subsequent wrestlings *ab ovo*, and to unveil the sources, he represents to his honest survivors,

(1.) That the Assembly preceeding had been, to their great surprize, abruptly and suddenly dissolved in the King's name, by his Majesty's High Commissioner; upon which the very reverend Moderator humbly and respectfully moved to his Grace, that he would name the day on which the following might meet; which yet his Grace positively refused to do, only he signified that his Majesty would call an Assembly when he thought meet. *Philomathes* was present at that time, having been a member of that assembly, and doth well remember the very reverend Moderator had a grave discourse, immediately after, to this effect (for he will not vouch for the very words) *viz.* after humble and dutiful respects to their sacred Majesties, and a becoming regard to their just power and greatness, he asserted the immediate dependence of church judicatories upon the Lord Jesus, the exalted Head of his church, and that he had entrusted his servants who bear office in his name with full power over their meetings and matters, as they shall be answerable unto himself: and after that he had, with awful gravity and meekness, delivered his mind aforesaid, with his face to his Majesty's Commissioner on the throne, he turned about to the Assembly, and enquired, whether in what he spoke he had uttered their mind; and they expressed

pressed their adherence with a pleasant and harmonious acclamation. Some also asked, and took instruments thereupon. When this was over, in regard no diet was named for the subsequent assembly, and so our assemblies were like to fall into a non-entity, sundry of the brethren desired the Moderator to name a day for the next meeting of a General Assembly; which accordingly he did, and was approved of by the assembly in like manner. All this was done with great harmony, none dissented, nor did any express the least aversion; though, long after, it was said to me, that some were silent. But their Majesties Commissioner stayed, and removed not till after prayer.

(2.) The occasion of this so manifest a stretch, which extorted the fore-mentioned testimony, was an application of the curates in a whole body, by two of their representatives; who, in their name, by a written petition, desired that they might be admitted to ministerial communion, and have their share in the government, as then in being, without any security for maintenance thereof, or the least resentment of their former way. This strange address the Assembly had under view, without either granting or denying it; for however it was generally disrelished, yet the Assembly had not given their deliverance thereupon; and while some members of the greater influence were deliberating what might be most proper to be done in the exigence, and nothing had been as yet prepared to be brought into the Assembly in the usual method, they met but rarely, and did little business. At length the fore-mentioned dissolution came upon them suddenly, like a thunder-bolt, with the greatest surprize; and no other reason was given by the Commissioner save that, after a delay of some days, the petition of the curates had not been granted.

(3.) However prudently and cautiously the matter was carried ere the fore-mentioned testimony was given, and that the circumstanced case rendered so much most necessary and inevitable, yet it was sadly misrepresented, and highly aggravated at court; and diverse more open enemies, or pretended friends, cried out against it as an insult. Nevertheless he knoweth not any further hurt that followed, save that some in state offices were de-

courted, whose breath had been kindly towards this poor church; and after surmises whispered, it came to be reported more openly, that our liberty to meet in General Assemblies would be taken from us entirely. This was most alarming and afflictive to the truest friends both of Church and State, who also expressed their concernment with all becoming regard to their sacred Majesties: Yet some who were chiefly privy to the court-intrigues gave an allay, and did, upon occasion, signify in his hearing, that they thought we had no ground to fear the loss of our General Assemblies; and gave assurances that all these difficulties would quite vanish upon a dutiful address to their Majesties, providing it were well formed: But he understood not the secret designs which were covered under these fair and general terms, until they appeared, at length, to his no small grief and wounding; of which afterward, if the Lord will.

(4.) When the time drew on which had been fixed by the last Assembly for the meeting of a new one, *Philomathes* perceiving that the Presbytery, to which he then belonged, was like to neglect that appointment utterly, thought it his clear and indispensable duty, with all due respect, to interpose, especially in regard he had been a member of the former Assembly, which made the appointment; and therefore, howsoever sick in body, yet he wrote an earnest letter to one of the more aged brethren of the Rev. Presbytery, whose great accomplishments rendered his influence upon the remanant brethren deservedly considerable. To him he imparted his whole heart in that affair, which also he intreated might be communicated to the whole Presbytery, and sincerely expected his assistance therein. The line was to the effect following:—After an account of the matter of fact, that the former Assembly had been suddenly dissolved in their Majesties name, and that his Grace, though humbly desired, yet refused to name a new diet, a testimony for the royalties of Christ, and to the liberty of Assemblies in such an event, was most necessary and seasonable, and had been given particularly, clearly, gravely, and with all dutiful respect to their Majesties, and harmoniously approved by the Assembly, as was more particularly before declared; he therefore moved, that the Presbytery, in

in consequence of that appointment, would make choice of their commissioners, and give such directions to them as a juncture so very critical should be found to require; and though he was entirely against such methods, as are unbecoming our ministerial station, yet he was persuaded some suitable testimony was positively required, in regard the liberties of the church were at the stake, and in extreme danger.

(5.) To this letter the fore-mentioned brother returned an answer, which surprized and afflicted *Philomathes* not a little. It was to this purport; viz. he sharply reflected upon the indiction of the diet of a new Assembly by the last foregoing, and upon the whole management in that part, as mere tumult and disorder, to which no regard ought to be had, and signified his expectation that the rest of his brethren would be like minded with himself. He also was pleased to check him for meddling in that matter, and the rather because of his sickness of body, representing with some warm expressions of affection, that he feared his thoughtfulness about things of this sort was prejudicial to his bodily health. This afflicted *Philomathes* very deeply, yet he saw no cause for pushing the debate. He had exonerated his conscience in some measure by the letter he wrote, and found no occasion for altering his mind, nor for the least doubtfulness by the bare assertions of that reverend brother, contrary to what he saw and heard: and whatsoever freedom he might well have used with poor *Philomathes*, a venerable assembly ought to have been treated with more respect. Assuredly there was no tumult at the close of the last Assembly, unless an harmonious and hearty expression of agreement unto the fore-mentioned testimony of their Moderator, against a manifest encroachment upon the liberties of the church, be branded with that odious name. It is true, the Moderator, at the desire of sundry members, named a day for meeting of the next, but not one word was uttered, either against the sudden dissolution, nor was the least motion made concerning a new diet, until their Majesties Commissioner was humbly and earnestly entreated to name, and had peremptorily refused. There was indeed the like expression of adherence given to the nomination of the diet

diet by the Moderator, and what less could have been done? Or must the dissolution and intercision of assemblies, and the whole, with every part of the foresaid encroachment, have been gone into, without so much as one word of resentment. Touching the exception that the noise was great, and some spoke who were not members; it is easily answered, that the Assembly, in a surprising hurry, could not prevent their speaking, nor could a great body well have expressed their mind, without some considerable noise, when taken in a surprise, and at manifest disadvantages; but nothing was said in derogation to that dutiful and just regard we owed to their sacred Majesties. Their Commissioners were present, and heard all, and laid nothing of that sort to the charge of the Assembly, or any member thereof.

(6.) When the day came, according to the appointment of the last meeting, some very few appeared at the door of the New Church of Edinburgh, in the isle whereof our assemblies have still met since the last establishment: They were but two or three, or did not much exceed that number; and they only spoke a little to one another, but took no instrument that they were present, and the diet deserted: neither the Moderator nor Clerk appeared, though not far distant. It was said they were in the city. Nothing was done that could amount to a testimony suiting the clamant exigence. Few, very few presbyteries took notice of the indiction, and that to which *Philomathes* belonged had no regard to it, and did nothing in consequence thereunto. Thus he accounted that part of the church of Scotland's testimony to have fallen, and so much the rather because we had no assembly for a considerable while after, and adversaries boasted, that we would get no assemblies, and flattered themselves in the prospect of further encroachments upon our liberties.

(7.) At length a new Assembly was called by sound of trumpet, from the Market Cross of Edinburgh, and in the usual form, without any distinction of that judicatory from civil courts so much as insinuated. At this time *Philomathes* was sick, disabled for public preaching, and had not the occasion, nor did he incline to meddle, while so stated. Yet he acknowledgeth that these measures

sures excited in him an aversion from attending church
 judicatories for a time; wherein he will not take upon
 him to justify himself; though yet he never stated it as
 his principle, that it was unlawful to concur with them,
 even in the circumstances into which they had brought
 themselves at that time: It stuck mightily with him, and
 bore too great weight, that the Presbyteries generally,
 and in particular that to which he belonged (may he say
 so far with due respect) had not, as he thought, been
 faithful to their trust in the fore-mentioned and other
 material concerns of that power, and authority
 wherewith the glorious head of the church hath intrust-
 ed them. And when he reflected upon the desertion of
 the diet of the last Assembly named by the Assembly, or
 the Moderator at their desire, and that instead thereof a
 new Assembly had been called in all the forms, and with
 the like dependence upon the crown, as civil courts have,
 and all this was complied with, he feared, and could not
 escape the impression, that a lovely part of the church
 of Scotland's testimony was relinquished by us. He en-
 tertains no thought of detracting from the just authority
 of the civil powers, which he greatly honoureth for con-
 science sake, yet it is the declared principle of this and
 other reformed churches, that church judicatories depend
 upon the Lord Jesus, the Head of the Church, in an
 immediate way, that is, without the intervention of the
 secular powers, and are to act in his name in that capa-
 city: So much was declared with great solemnity and
 harmony at the last Assembly. And in regard that sun-
 dry encroachments were made since that time, manifest-
 ly contrary to the liberty of Christ's courts, as we our-
 selves acknowledged in private, it much affected him that
 no entertainment was given to any motion he or others
 made towards an assertion of the church's liberty, in op-
 position to confessed encroachments on them. Our utter
 silence in such a juncture was, in his opinion, a falling
 from the forefald testimony, and imported real submis-
 sion unto an Erastian yoke. He apprehends sundry of
 his dear survivors may be otherwise minded, and think
 this inference an unwarrantable stretch; yet he hopes
 they will do him the justice to look upon his Testamen-
 tary Memorial as truly ingenuous.

(7.) The

(7.) The strain of our actings at that time did much confirm him in his sentiments, as before expressed; for besides that the fore-mentioned testimony was not recorded, men of the greatest influence amongst us laid out themselves to the uttermost for keeping all quiet, as if Christian prudence rendered such silence necessary in the circumstances wherein we then stood, and have been much of a piece since that time, though yet the proper season determined by the Lord in scripture for standing fast to the liberties * wherewith Christ had made us free, is when we are entangled with the contrary yokes of bondage. But not to digress from the thread of the history, he must acquaint his honest reader with a certain adventure at that time, which, beyond all that is said, did so provoke him, that he acknowledgeth it procured an aversion from concurring with church judicatories for a time, which he dare not justify upon clear views, though he walked then in a conformity to what appeared duty to him; and the real truth is, diverse of the most judicious and godly he knew were like to be carried to extremes at that time. The matter was this: Some ministers (whether ruling elders were with them or not he never learned) met at Edinburgh from several places, but in a private way, and others came up to them, according to the diet to which they were warned, but found the meeting over before they reached the length! How or with what art that business was managed he shall not say; but had some who were written to got a just account of the time of that meeting, the business they effectuated had not been gotten wrought. They, when met, fell about a project of addressing the King for a new Assembly, which they knew, or were made to believe, would not take effect without some acknowledgments, to which they could not expect a general or even a tolerably extensive consent. That meeting drew up and sent to the King an address, which *Philamthes*, in providence, came to see more than once, and not without difficulty; but they would never put it into his custody so much as for a minute, or allow him, or any other, (for what he knows) a double thereof, find-

* Gal. v. 1, 2. Eph. v. 11. Gal. ii 3, &c.

ing it proper to keep it quiet amongst those who were of the concert. That meeting, though not delegated by church judicatories, but gathered by a very secret concert, did yet take to themselves the title of the Synod of Glasgow and Air, the Presbytery of Edinburgh, with delegates from several other Presbyteries, and yet no such thing was known to these judicatories, or so much as once proposed to them. He is sure it was never mentioned in the Synod of Glasgow and Air, nor proposed in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and none of the doers asserted to him, that they had the consent of any one church judicatory in the nation, though he made particular and close enquiry when he reasoned the thing with them. He remembers that a renowned minister of the city of Edinburgh often (and sometimes in his hearing) inveighed against it under the character of a penitential address. They expected not that the fore-mentioned judicatories would make such repentance, and therefore they thought meet to do it for them. The thing speaks of itself; no address from private hands could have borne weight, it wanted to have the name of the church, or at least of a considerable part thereof, and therefore they gave it that name, though without their knowledge and consent. He knows that it was moved and pressed with much earnestness in the Synod of Glasgow and Air, that it might be produced, and the Synod might have the occasion to see a paper sent in their name to the King; and though they knew nothing about it before it was sent, it was reasonable they might have the satisfaction to see what they had been made to say, after that it was said. Several Presbyteries also instructed their commissioners to the General Assembly to propose its being laid before that court; and they also moved, that the Assembly would call for it, neither could the authors directly and peremptorily deny a request so very just and reasonable, but still pretexts were sought for delays and shiftings; and thus by all possible artifices the matter was still protracted, and the proposers came to be so wearied out by excuses, delays and shufflings, that they gave it over, knowing that the demand, how equal soever, yet would not be granted. He knows not, nor hath he reason to think, that any one judicatory in the nation ever
saw

saw it, for its main authors did not own so much, when *Philomathes* reasoned the matter with them, and they whose names it bore were strangers to the business, as was observed before. The real state of the matter was, it had been sent to the King, in the name of a goodly part of the church of Scotland; they expected not the concurrence of the judicatories whose names were borrowed, and as little would such stretches abide a fair trial, after that the deed was done: and in regard it had been favourably received, and entertained by his Majesty for what it truly was not, and that the King, as well as the Church, had been imposed upon, they durst not submit the management to a fair trial, either of an assembly, or any other equal court.

(8.) He cannot undertake to account for the very words, where so much of art and cunning were used to keep all quiet, but having more than once discoursed and reasoned the matter with some of the chief doers, he is in the better case to account for it, and to the best of his remembrance the purpose, method, and sundry of the words were as follows:— They regret the disorder at the dissolution of the last Assembly, which, say they, was occasioned by the suddenness thereof, and would have been prevented, had they known but a moment before, in which event they represented that some overture would have been fallen upon, agreeable to his Majesty, and suiting the exigence of matters, as then stated.— Hereupon they humbly desire that his Majesty would overlook what is past, and be graciously pleased to call a General Assembly, wherein they promise such a management as they doubt not will be acceptable. He must declare, that the view of such an address was at once surprising, and most afflictive to him; but pains were taken to smooth it, and he disputeth not but that the couching was such as might allow some of the expressions to be carried to a better sense than could readily appear to an ordinary and honest reader, without a political and courtly interpreter. But as such glosses would never have occurred to *Philomathes*, so he could as little accommodate them to the text, after that they were given. The entire strain is remote from the least shadow of owning the clear and notable testimony, which the
former

former Assembly had given to the royalties of Christ, and the liberties he hath bestowed upon his church, of which before. Instead of any thing of that kind, their appearance against a sudden dissolution is called disorder. And what though the expression which the members gave of their adherence, when the Moderator enquired whether he spoke their mind, had more noise attending it than was necessary, which is the utmost that even adversaries can alledge, (though yet he saw no just ground of quarrel on that score) yet the testimony itself was necessary, seasonable and honourable, neither did it in the least detract from the just power and greatness of secular princes. We all confess he spoke our principle, and do resolutely own so much in more private ways; and the act of Assembly prefixed to our Confession of Faith and Catechisms containeth all that he spoke, and in terms fully as strong and stronger. But yet in this address we humbly supplicate his Majesty to overlook it as a piece of disorder. The obvious sense whereof beareth a craving pardon for it as a crime. The distinctions and precisions whereby the abettors thereof went about to take off the challenges, had their residence only with the contrivers, an impartial and candid reader would not have dreamed of them. Our deportment in this was far from what the royal Prophet expresseth, viz. † "I will speak of thy testimonies before kings, and will not be ashamed." We had a notable opportunity at this time of owning the royalties of Christ, and the liberties of his house, before the best and mildest of kings, to whom we owed the highest obligations, and hereunto a fair and open concurrence might have been obtained, but other contrary and clanculary courses were taken. Touching what it contains so very liberally concerning overtures, they were preparing, and further promised, as what would be acceptable to his Majesty, the business then in hand, and debated, was a comprehension of the Prelatical Clergy: and whatsoever causes moved the King (as his Majesty was stated with the English church) to propose the thing by his Commissioner, we have reason to think that he was better apprised of our principles than to expect a going into the proposal could consist therewith. Such

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promises

† Psalm cxix. 46.

promises would not have been complied with by these societies whose names they bore, and yet being given, the current became afterwards so strong, that they proved a snare, as will appear at more length in the progress. But not to insist, whatsoever distinctions and evasions the authors devised, the paper could fairly bear no other sense than what the King understood to be the meaning, and expressed with some surprise, when he received it, namely, That the Church of Scotland had acknowledged their offence, and craved pardon. Our managers persuaded themselves, and would needs have others to believe, that they had taken the only habile method for procuring a General Assembly, and that nothing less could have done the business.

(9.) When the time for the meeting of this Assembly drew near, *Philomathes* being in a better state of health, took it under serious deliberation what part he should act. He considered that the Presbytery whereof he was a member, could meet but once, or at most only twice, before the diet appointed for the General Assembly; and in regard he stood in uneasy terms with them, a process having been commenced against him, which was not brought to any issue, in regard he refused the acknowledgment and promise required by them. Upon these and other the like considerations, he determined within himself, and having desired the elders to meet with him in his chamber, he communicated to them his purpose of keeping at home, and not going to the Presbytery for that little while, which was to precede the Assembly. He was not then well confirmed in health, and as he desired to be guided by the Lord, so he had resolved, if the Lord would, to adventure the length of Edinburgh during the sitting of the Assembly, that he might advise with his worthy friends there what measures were most proper to be taken by one in his circumstances. He was but rude and inexperienced, and much wanted advice how to behave in paths unusual, to which from time to time he had been constrained beyond what he designed. This was his secret intention, though he spoke little to the other members of the Session, who were not very friendly, and yet consented easily to that small delay.—The plain truth is, he thought the workings of Erastian-

ism,

ism, and other mysteries of iniquity, were so strong at that time, that he trembled to enter into the current, and had difficulties about what was, and in appearance would be the state of church judicatories, and his concurrence with them, which, for a while, were to him inextricable, though he saw through them at length: and yet when these scruples were at their height, he thinks not they would have procured the distance, at which he kept himself too long from them, had he been used more kindly. But in very deed, the peremptory measures the Rev. Presbytery was pleased to take with him constrained him to sundry steps, which were afflictive to them both. Of all this he renders to his survivors the following ingenuous account, without concealing, to his knowledge, any evil he can charge himself with in the management, being more willing to spare others than himself.

SECTION VI.

*Proceedings in the Process of the Presbytery against the Author.
The Cause is remitted to the Assembly. Remarks in Answer
to the Articles of Libel.*

(1.) **H**— At this time was pleased, in company with some of his set, to pay him a visit, and came near to the end of the week, being resolved to stay till the Sabbath passed. Hereupon PHILOMATHES found himself under a dilemma, which pushed on either hand; yet considering the eminent piety of the man, and his zeal against the defections of the time, which challenged a just regard (though he could not approve the extremes to which he went), and remembering also their acquaintance and intimacy, he thought it the most advisable part

to

to give him an invitation to preach, in regard he knew of no legal obstacle to hinder his preaching, being assured that no ecclesiastical sentence was passed against him, nor did any pass for a long while after. As to an ecclesiastical process, though he knew well the danger on that head, yet he was not apprised of any advances, and, to his knowledge, no step had been made beyond a bare citation, if it was given. Nevertheless this adventure, which he could not well escape, gave no small umbrage to the Rev. Presbytery, their suspicions were thereby heightened; and he afterwards understood that from thence they almost positively concluded that he had, or would soon comply with a party, which stated a separation from the whole ministry of this church, a design whereof he abhorred the very thought. This, he afterwards learned, did give the rise to a pursuit which quickly followed. But though he had laid down such a project, he cannot be of their mind, that the way of process was the most habile to hinder the progress: methods more amiable had better suited that end. Yet the Rev. Presbytery was otherwise minded, and, he doubts not, acted sincerely according to their sentiments. Notwithstanding they moved not so summarily at this time, as they had done before, only a considerable heritor of the parish acquainted PHILOMATHES that R——, one of the brethren of the Rev. Presbytery, desired to commune with him. To this motion he instantly agreed, and so a time of meeting was named, at the same gentleman's house, which they both observed. There they reasoned calmly, closeiy, and at considerable length about matters debated at that time, and much was said on either hand, whereof he needs not give any particular account. In the close he acquainted him of the next diet of our Presbytery, and required his attending it without fail. Hereunto PHILOMATHES gave no direct answer, in regard severals were in the company, but signified his inclination to commune with R—— apart.

(2.) Hereupon they went together into a closet, and PHILOMATHES opened his mind concerning encroachments made upon the liberties † wherewith Christ had made

† Gal. v. 1, 2, 25. Eph. v. 11.

made his church free, and concerning the defects, which he feared would be found to affect our church constitution, as having submitted in sundry regards to an Erastian yoke, without bearing necessary testimony unto and asserting the royalties of Christ and liberties of his house, in opposition to the same. And though a notable testimony had been given at the dissolution of the last, and the indiction of a new Assembly, yet the diet was deserted, and the testimony fallen from, by an address really penitential; whereof more particularly before. He also reminded him of his circumstanced state with the Presbytery, who had proessed him; and the matter being still in dependence, he wanted to know in what capacity he should return, whether as a free member, or a sort of criminal, and seeing he was unexpert in managements of that nature, and tender of the credit of his ministry, he would do nothing precipitantly and rashly, but inclined to wait until he had the Rev: Presbytery's mind about his circumstanced state with them. Time could not then allow, and he as little inclined to dispute these matters; neither was he fully persuaded in his mind either as to his return or abstracting from them for a time; he therefore intreated the foresaid R—— with all the earnestness and affectionate tenderness he possibly could attain, that he would intercede with the Reverend Presbytery to overlook his absence for one diet. Though he were in an error, yet sure the proper method to recover him was rather to spare than to over-drive him; especially seeing he was still but frail, and had fainted twice during the conference, through defect of vital spirits. He desired no more save only a delay till the meeting of the Assembly, which was so near that the Presbytery could scarcely meet twice (and they met not oftener) before it. He protested ingenuously, that his heart was pained and pierced to think of a further breach with his reverend and dear brethren; and therefore he obtested him again and again, that he would endeavour to procure a short connivance, that he might have the advantage of time to consider the matter more ripely, and to consult with his judicious and worthy friends in Edinburgh; during the sitting of the Assembly. The Rev. Presbytery and PHILOMATHES were parties in the case, and

and it was the more fit that the whole matter should be under the view of judicious men, who, having no particular interest, might judge the more equally. He reminded him that a small delay might readily be of great use, and beneficial to them both: and presupposing the very worst (which would not have befallen) they still had access to carry on their pursuits. Yet notwithstanding of so much humble and earnest obsequiousness, he could not prevail: for the whole conduct had been concerted by the Presbytery, and he acted in their name; and told him plainly, that he, as Moderator, was empowered to cite PHILOMATHES to their next meeting, in case he did not voluntarily consent; but withal declared his great unwillingness to go that length; and therefore entreated that he would either promise to be with them, or give to themselves a reason why he could not. This quite broke PHILOMATHES's measures, who laid out himself to the uttermost to get all kept quiet, until he came to some positive resolution, and was therefore matter of heavy sorrow to him. But no more could be obtained, and in regard the evening drew on in a winter day, and they both were under a necessity to go home, they parted with grief on either hand.

(3.) When the time for that meeting approached, and he still persisted in the opinion, that as circumstanced at the time, and not knowing whether they considered him mainly as a member, or a sort of pannel, he could not find clearness to attend the diet: the weights upon his mind did cast his body into a feverish disorder, which affixed him to his bed for a little, and being in no good case to use his own, he borrowed a hand, and dictated a letter to the Moderator, to be communicated; wherein after an account of sundry steps of our defection, and particularly in a progressive submission to Erastian yokes, the particulars whereof may be understood from the former history, which he needs not repeat, and also considering that he knew not in what terms he stood with the Rev. Presbytery, he signified his unclearness to concur in church judicatories, until somewhat were done towards an effectual disentanglement and ridding the marches betwixt the governments of Church and State. He had formed a draught of this letter some little while before,
but

but a great deal milder, and more qualified than that which he sent by one of the elders, the pointedness whereof was matter of sorrow to him very quickly, as somewhat exceeding what he could own for his positive sentiment, though expressing little more than a present unclearness, but in terms too strong and rigid. Neither was he without some consciousness of so much in the very time when he dictated the line: But being uneasy in body, and vexed in mind, he gave way to his own spirit, and conveyed his sentiment without the respect which had been requisite towards the church judicature, and that he used afterward. And even after that the line was written and ready, he would have suppressed it, and applied more amicably by one of another strain, had not a politic determined him, namely, he thought such round dealing beyond what he at first designed, would be a proper expedient to bring the whole matter before the ensuing General Assembly, which he most vehemently desired that they would take under their cognizance, and in that event he expected access to express his mind for his own defence to the full. Thus the venerable Assembly would be brought under a necessity to review sundry things of the greatest weight; and in case of their appearing for the royalties of Christ, and affirming the liberties of his house, in opposition to entrenchments made thereupon, as all PHILOMATHES's scruples, with respect to the state of our church judicatories, would be entirely removed, so, through grace, he would be tractable, and readily acknowledge whatsoever he might be made to see of weakness, and greater slips in his conduct.

(4.) Hereunto the Rev. Presbytery gave no answer, but R——, a reverend brother, of whom before, wrote a large return in his own name, with somewhat of acrimony, much beyond what was ordinary with him; and therein he was at pains to vindicate, or at least to excuse, such of our public actings as PHILOMATHES had taxed more particularly and especially; yet he must acknowledge that the judicious, learned and accurate man did not adventure far that way; but even presupposing guilt in these proceedings, he argued with great solidity and keenness against dishaunting ordinances dispensed by Presbyterian ministers, and going in upon such grounds to the

the camp of these who had stated a separation from the Church of Scotland. And as PHILOMATHES had no thought of this, but was, to the utmost, averse from such an extreme, so his line to the Rev. Presbytery contained nothing about that matter, being of a tenor, and to the effect, he already mentioned, and inclineth not to repeat, though more positive than he himself did well approve, for reasons and from a politic, as above. That reverend brother acquainted PHILOMATHES, in the close of his letter, that, as Moderator, he was appointed by the Rev. Presbytery to cause summon him to appear before them at their next diet; which yet he declared he was very loth to do, and would take upon him to omit, providing PHILOMATHES would signify his willingness to appear by a letter under his own hand. This he would instantly have done, but having been two nights from home, he knew nothing of the letter that R—— had written to him, and so a second was sent, which came to his hand late in the evening, after his return home; and next morning the Presbytery officer gave into his own hand a citation in the usual form, to compare at the diet therein mentioned, which brought the congregation under no small grief and consternation, but without any shadow of disorder or tumult. PHILOMATHES had afterwards diverse conferences, and exchanged several letters with that learned and deserving person; all which debates were managed with much calmness and friendship; for though in several concerns of the public they differed, yet they agreed as to the most considerable of these matters; and when he understood PHILOMATHES's great aversion from the principles, and way of the separatists, he much regreted that he had been greatly mistaken both by the Presbytery and himself. But to proceed in the narration.

(5.) At the appointed day the Rev. Presbytery convened at a place considerably distant from that of their ordinary meeting, upon the account of a parochial visitation indicted by them; and PHILOMATHES (notwithstanding his frailty) made all haste to overtake the sermon, that he might, in so far, evidence his freedom to attend ordinances, even when cited as a criminal. To gain time, he shall account at once for what was commended,

muned, whether at that examination or others, seeing his memory will not serve him to distinguish the seasons, and it may be more acceptable to his honest reader to have a compend of the whole laid before him together, than to have it told by parcels.

After that they had finished what belonged to the visitation, which they quickly dispatched, PHILOMATHES appeared before them. They required not an execution of the summons, nor called him thereupon in the ordinary method of courts. It sufficed that he was with them; and the formalities which might have made some noise were inadvertently, or rather of set purpose omitted. Neither was any libel given him with the citation; and there being no such stated ground for a formed trial, they only challenged him for the letter he had written to them, whereof before, and found fault with his inviting H. to preach with him in his congregation. He cannot account for these things just in the order wherein they were discoursed, but well remembereth that the substance of his answers to both these charges was comprised in the following particulars:—

1st, He ingenuously confessed that his circumstanced state with the Rev. Presbytery, and the late measures taken in the name of this church, of which before, had brought him under difficulties about his return to the Presbytery, and had also raised scruples in his mind about the state of our church judicatories, which truly straitened him. Yet, 2dly, he had firmly resolved entirely to suppress them, until further consideration, that, after long sickness, he might have the opportunity to weigh the matter more maturely before the Lord, and to consult his worthy and judicious friends and intimates at Edinburgh. 3dly, And for this effect he had resolved to omit his attending the Rev. Presbytery for one diet or two at most, without acquainting any person of the reasons which moved him, and which his former sickness and frail state, being not much restored, might have easily covered. 4thly, When, by a concert of the Rev. Presbytery, or their appointment, R. had communed with him, he was at all pains after that advance to prevail with that reverend brother for giving him his assistance towards keeping the matter quiet, and procuring the Rev.

Presbytery's overlooking a diet's absence. 5thly, Hereupon he represented, with all due respect, that he reckoned himself injured in being obliged so openly to declare his private scruples. Yet forasmuch as they would needs have them, he represented sundry particulars to the following effect:—

1. That the foundation upon which the estates of parliament had raised the whole fabric of our church government is very uncertain and variable, namely, 'the inclinations of the people,' which, according to their interests, humours, and the several influences of subtle men upon them, are liable to many alterations. They who of old, the one day cried, "Hosannah to the Son of David," were as busy quickly afterward to fill the air with virulent clamours, "Crucify him, crucify him." Here there is no sufficient foundation for a settled and unalterable frame, and this hath given much of the rise to motions from the state and compliances with them on the church's part, which have been dishonourable to the Lord, and greatly hurtful to us; for it was often represented to the higher powers, that a considerable body in the nation favoured the curates, besides the interest they had with many in the neighbouring nation. 2. This defect our church supplied not. The whole blessed period of our covenants, and a work of reformation raised thereupon, was neglected entirely; nor was the least notice taken, even of the grossest and most noted steps of our defection from thence. And whereas many godly in the land and honest sufferers had expected, that the first or some following Assembly would have taken notice of the fore-mentioned mold, lest their silence should import a building upon the moveable inclinations of the people, as well as the state had done, and have asserted Presbyterial government in opposition to Prelacy and Erastianism, as a standing ordinance of Christ, to be perpetually observed in his house: no such motion was listened to; nor was the least advance made that way. 3. He used the freedom to remind them, that from the first establishment of this church, after that the Lord had brought us out of Babel with a strong hand, our ministers and judicatories had acquitted themselves faithfully and zealously in owning and asserting the liberties of our Lord's house, especially

especially when encroachments were made thereupon, and that this was one of the glories of the Church of Scotland, wherein they excelled other churches. Hereof we have sundry memorable instances in our history, and amongst others that heroical adventure of the ministers, who attended the diet of the Assembly at Aberdeen, tho' it had been adjourned by the King's letter. The proposal and whole management of Mr. Black's declination, and the protestation of the Assembly 1638, against their dissolution, as also their act, sess. 26. whereby it is declared that, by divine, ecclesiastical and civil warrants, this national kirk hath power and liberty to assemble ordinarily, and *pro re nata*, as occasion and necessity shall require; and to pass other instances, the act of Assembly prefixed to our Confession of Faith is clear and pointed on this head; and yet our Assemblies in their proceedings with reference to the Confession would never take notice of that act, though expressly relating thereunto, and made for approbation of the same, but with such qualifications as our church thought necessary with respect to the liberty of assemblies. 4. That though an honourable appearance of a piece with these fore-mentioned had been made at the sudden dissolution of the last Assembly, whereby the hearts of our honest wrestlers were revived and strengthened, yet it was fallen from, and pardon had been humbly craved for it, as a disorder, of which his reader may view the former account. 5. Other grievances of the like nature he also represented, all tending to evince our lamentable submission to an Erastian yoke, which, together with the uneasy circumstances towards the Rev. Presbytery, unto which they had brought him, did raise in his mind the scruples he was fully resolved to suppress, had they allowed him a little while to consider.—But they endeavoured to take off the exceptions by disparities in our case, from what was the case of our church in the times fore-mentioned, and that as the state of matters was in our day, such practices would be imprudent, unseasonable, unsafe and ruinous. These bore little weight in PHILOMATHES'S conscience, for though he confesseth, that different circumstances may require a suitable variety of methods in managing the same duties, which cannot in every case be performed

performed with the like solemnities, yet this entrencheth not upon the moral, and therefore indispenfible obligation, our Lord laid upon us all, to ftand faft to the liberties wherewith Chrift hath made us free, by refufing to fubmit to an Eraftian yoke, and bearing testimony, as our ftations allow and require, againft whatfoever is injurious to the honour of the glorious Head of the church, and encroacheth upon the liberties of his courts. And as that importeth nothing prejudicial to the juft authority and eminence of the higher powers, fo with his whole heart he would go into all the humble and dutiful meafures of deference unto them, which the regards we owe to the Prince of the kings of the earth can allow. It is alfo to be fpecially remarked, that we had notable opportunities for this important duty, being under the government of the beft and mildeft of kings, to whom we might have very freely avowed our principles, who was acceffible and willing to receive juft information, and much inclined to be eafy and kindly to us. Moreover an appearance had been made for the liberties of our Lord's courts at the diffolution of the laft Affembly, as free and refolute as any of thefe former days did afford, as far as it was carried; and whatfoever mifrepresentations thereof had been given at court, yet we had found no uneafier effects than the difplacing of fome in the ftate, who were friendly to us, and a temporary interfiftion of our General Affemblies, after that we had deferted the diet named by the laft. Neither would PHILOMATHES have taken any umbrage, though we had acknowledged fomewhat amifs in, or had made fome apology for an unusual noife at that diffolution (though yet in his private opinion he faw no irregularity therein), providing an honeft addrefs, with due fubmiffion, had been fairly fent to his Majefty; yet ftill owning that the Moderator had afferted nothing in the name of the Affembly at that time, but what was our ftated principle, whereunto we did then and ftill do adhere. But for fome courtly brethren to call themfelves (upon the matter) the Church of Scotland, or the representative of a great part thereof, which yet they were not, and to make a fort of repentance in the name of their conftituents, without their knowledge or any warrant from them, was
a practice

a practice whereof he loves not to give the just character. 6. As to the charge of his inviting H. to preach, notwithstanding his being under process, he found no difficulty to answer it. For (1.) Besides that the occasion of that invitation was neither sought nor foreseen, the foresaid H. having come to visit him just at the end of the week, he thinks not that the process against him was commenced at that time. (2.) Though it had been set on foot (as he thinks it was not) yet no sentence was passed for a long time after that. A mere process intended, or begun, giveth no legal obstruction to a minister's preaching. PHILOMATHES himself was under process, and yet wanted not invitations by ministers who knew it; and was afterwards desired to preach at Edinburgh, during the sitting of an Assembly to which he was cited. And whereas they urged that the Synod had discharged the said H. to preach within their bounds, while under process, and referred to the General Assembly: He replied, that, having been absent from the Synod through sickness, he knew of no such prohibition, the Synod having given no intimation thereof, neither to the said H. nor to PHILOMATHES, and it was not intimated publicly. As to what a private gentleman spoke just when we were going to church, he shewed no order, nor gave any document for it. Moreover, in case of such prohibition, PHILOMATHES had reason to think, that it related only to a preaching irregularly, and that it laid no restraint upon ministers to invite him in an orderly way. A process, though entered, yet brought to no issue, cannot make it unlawful for a minister so circumstanced to preach, and what is not unlawful for him to do, cannot be reckoned illegal in a minister to desire, while all is managed regularly. To this it was rejoined, that he might have known that the invitation would be displeasing to the Synod; and he answered, he knew very well the Synod was dissatisfied with them both upon the head of their not approving the practice of ministers their taking the oaths; yet that gave him no ground of distaste. Moreover considering that the said H. would otherwise have preached in the fields, within the precincts of some congregation, he thought it was rather a service than any prejudice done to the Synod, that he invited him to preach.

preach regularly with himself, where no legal obstruction appeared. So much for this second examination.

(1.) When the trial was over (which the Rev. Presbytery managed with much discretion and undeserved respect, not suffering him to go out of the church where they met, when they thought fit he should remove, and a gentleman, one of the ruling elders, bore him company, &c.)—he presumes they themselves found the inconvenience of bringing these scruples about the state of church judicatories to a public view, which might well have been adjusted by a little connivance, as was mentioned before; and hence he thinks it proceeded, that when they called him in, they thought it requisite to prepare sundry expedients for accommodating matters, which they themselves had so unnecessarily made public: He cannot mind these overtures, only he well remembers that being new, and that he could not well understand the grounds, design or congruity of them at first view, he humbly represented his unreadiness to give a present answer, but promised most sincerely to take their proposals under a serious consideration, and in regard the Rev. Presbytery could not again meet before the General Assembly, he promised to give their delegates to that Assembly a positive answer before, or during the sitting thereof, and they might accordingly instruct their representatives, as they found cause. At worst, and though they should commence a process, or carry the former, yet further against him (for which he thinks not there would have been occasion) yet the matter would remain entire, and could not suffer by the small delay, which he so earnestly and humbly besought. This satisfied not, and still they urged a present reply, or that he would consider the matter instantly, and give them a positive answer that night, or at furthest next morning. PHILOMATHES wondered at this haste and peremptoriness, but yet entreated that they would grant him a longer time, for that it was now far in the night, and his body as well as his mind so outwearied, tossed and harassed, that even strength and vital spirits could not serve him towards the fixed consideration of any thing: besides that the import of the case required time and leisure to bring it before the Lord, and to wait for his counsel.—

Moreover

Moreover he very freely acknowledged to them, that since it had pleased the Lord to open his eyes, it had been still his method to communicate matters of weight which nearly concerned him to some of his more judicious and intimate friends, and who do fear the Lord greatly, having often found that sweet communion of this nature, and concurrent applications to the throne of grace, were a blessed mean for light. The * promise is clear, inviting and encouraging, namely, "If two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing they shall ask, it shall be done, &c." These and other considerations he rather proposed and urged, because, in these dregs of time, the sway is much stronger towards a weighing public matters in political balances, while the fore-mentioned pleasant and efficacious means for light are much out of use. They who sincerely fear the Lord are not many, and the fellowship of saints in these and other such ways is little understood even amongst them.

(2.) Hereupon he was again removed with the like civility and discretion, or rather desired to go aside to a remote corner within the church, where also a gentleman expressed his kindness by accompanying him, tho' retirement would have been more desirable to him, could he have obtained it decently: and after some interval of time he was called, and the Moderator summoned him *apud acta* to compare before the next General Assembly, whereof time and place were mentioned to him; and some while after, articles of a libel were delivered to him in their name, though he knew nothing about them, when he was cited as aforesaid. He hath no design, by this plain and ingenuous narration of what passed, in the least to reflect upon the Rev. Presbytery to which he then belonged, neither would he have contended with them about form, wherein he is but little versed to this day. He only laments that the strength of the libel they drew up against him was founded upon mistakes, which he could easily have removed, had he been acquainted seasonably, and if more amicable methods had been taken with him. Nevertheless when he found that matters were brought to this issue, his mind was greatly eased and refreshed; for nothing more desirable in his circumstances

* Mat. xviii. 19.

stances could have befallen him, than the prospect of obtaining a hearing in the face of such an august and venerable court, which, were it granted, would give him a fair occasion for exonerating his conscience, by way of testimony for the royalties of Christ, and the liberties of his house, against sundry evils injurious to them. As to the charge of separation, he was in no fear: he had not stated any, and such a design was remote from his thoughts: he had indeed some scruples with respect to our church judicatories, fearing lest we should come to be wholly cast into an Erastian mould, and that the curates should have been brought in upon them like a flood; yet these difficulties he was fully resolved to suppress, and at length they would have been surmounted; and that they came to be known was only owing to the peremptory measures of the Rev. Presbytery, which had extorted them from him. For his part, as he was, thro' grace, and would have been very tractable and willing to acknowledge any wrong steps he might be made to see in his management, so access unto a free and distinct testimony would have satisfied him, though nothing, or little more, should have been obtained; but more especially it was encouraging to him, that as a bringing the matter of process intended against him under the cognizance of that venerable court could not readily fail to procure the Assembly's asserting their liberties, in opposition to entrenchments made thereupon, so he thought it no small privilege might he give the occasion to such a necessary and important duty.

(3.) His dear survivors may readily think strange, as he himself was also greatly surprised at the hasty and peremptory measures which the Rev. Presbytery took with him, neither could he know for a while what had induced such learned, wise and good men to so speedy a procedure, until, at length, he was given to understand the ground of the business, in a friendly conference with R——, a well accomplished divine, and one of the members, with whom also he had frequent communication, and did also exchange some letters with him during these uneasy debates, viz. They took it for granted that PHILOMATHES had separated from his motherchurch, and had associated himself with the separating societies.

Hereof

Hereof he had not the least suspicion, otherwise he would very heartily have obliterated that mistake. The handle they took for it was his owning frankly at his last appearance before them, that it had been still his method to concert things of weight which concerned him with some of his judicious, godly and intimate friends, and sure in the multitude of counsellors there is safety.— These they firmly persuaded themselves were some of the greater note in the schismatical societies, and that having joined himself to these societies, he was under the strongest obligations to consult his measures, and to act by concert with them, and upon this account it was that they bestirred themselves so early, and with so much vigour, that they might crush such motions in the birth. He could never have thought that the fore-mentioned harmless words, which contain a plain moral duty, would have been so misunderstood by judicious, learned and honest men.—Assuredly it pertaineth to the communion of saints, that they communicate counsels, and pray with and for one another. It had been better with us if our church-measures had been more concerted in heaven's court, and been less under an undue influence from the courts of men. And why should his reverend and dear brethren have deduced a positive conclusion from premises so very weak? Had they only raised a conjecture or suspicion upon them, he would not have thought it so very strange, but in that event they ought to have done him the justice to ask the question, and then the matter had been put out of doubt: Be it so that his scruples were owing to his weakness (as he acknowledgeth there was much of that in them) yet his consulting with judicious and godly men was so much the more his duty. And though it had been true, which they without ground did conclude, yet the remedy was most unsuited to that disease, unless they had thought the poor patient incurable by friendly methods, and he presumes they might have tried them before they determined that they would prove ineffectual. The way of authority in our case hath usually increased schisms, rather than cured them, when they are founded (though unwarrantably) on wrong steps taken by us. The true method,

method, and that which the Lord requireth, is to remove is to remove the stumbling-blocks upon which honest (though weak) men have dashed themselves, and fallen, and then either there will be no occasion or causes for ecclesiastical processes, or in case of prosecutions, the way will be made clearer for them, and they will have the more authority and weight. Touching the concerns of PHILOMATHES, his aversion from these extremes was not only great and rooted, but also increased under the continuance of the pursuit against him: and setting aside some transient flashes, which went quickly over, his spirit was not irritated, nor at all inclined to violent courses by the unexpected entertainment he met with from his reverend brethren. He wanted not many and strong solicitations from the Separatists, but he never did, nor could approve their way, and while he was conflicting with the church upon the one hand, he had his uneasy writtings with them on the other. Yet it pleased the Lord to meek and balance his spirit, which, he thinks, was much owing as a mean unto a set of conflicts that greatly harassed him at the time, and about matters of a higher moment, but of such a nature that he cannot consign the particulars into writing, and as a concealment of them is necessary in his case, so it cannot prejudice his Memorial, in regard no edifying use can demand a disclosure of such secrets as belong only unto the Lord. Every Christian hath them, and they are transacted betwixt a heavenly Father and his own children, without coming under the view of any creature, even of the nearest relations which can have place amongst men.— In the mean while he hath concealed nothing that he thought could be profitable for his survivors to know, according to the exigencies of a Testament, so far as the Lord brought the matters to his remembrance. Had he not been brought into the uneasy terms of an ecclesiastical process by his brethren, things might have been adjusted betwixt them and him to mutual satisfaction, after some time, and proper means used: But now that a prosecution was commenced, though founded upon mistakes, and nourished by them, which yet might have been conveniently prevented or remedied, he shall account for the libel given to him, with his designed answers,

swers, omitting so far as is possible unnecessary repetitions, for all was mistake, as appears from the premises, and the Assembly never received the process, as shall be afterwards declared.

The libel was intituled, "Articles given in to the Presbytery of H——, against H——, minister of D——."

1. That he not only refused the oath (which they were willing to have passed) but had preached his refusal in public, and the unlawfulness of taking it, and that he had continued to do this after admonition from the Presbytery. 2. That they having required of him a promise to forbear, he refused to give any such promise. 3. That he not only had refused to concur with the Presbytery, as Moderator, in citing H—— for his disorder (which the Presbytery was content likewise to have passed, and not to straiten him upon his private scruples), but had invited the said H—— to preach with him, he being under process referred to the General Assembly, and in the mean time discharged by the Synod to preach within their bounds. 4. That he had separated from his own Presbytery, and betaken himself to another society, without ever communicating with his brethren, or giving them so much as any pretended ground for his schism, until it was extorted from him. To this libel PHILOMATHES prepared the following answers, which yet he had never the occasion to use. Notwithstanding he presumes it will be acceptable to his honest survivors, that he give some account of them. In general, forasmuch as the whole articles do either give a wrong turn to matters of fact, or charge upon him what is directly contrary to his declared sentiments, he might deny entirely the libel, as it is laid. Notwithstanding he shall take the several articles under view. Only in the entry, with all due respect to the Rev. Presbytery, it seems very strange to him, that they charge on him and build a process upon mistakes and aspersions, which he had been at great pains to take off both in more private communings, and at two several appearances before themselves. And as to his joining with a separating society, as there was never any such thought entertained by him, so it was a consequence very far strained to charge that crime upon him, to insert it into their records (as he hath cause to think they did).

did), and to put it in a libel without any document or shadow thereof, save that he craved leave to consult with his judicious, godly and intimate friends (none of whom were of the separation) some proposals which they had made to him. He shall not essay to give the just character of such a treatment, but only adventures to remind his reverend brethren, that charity taketh things by a just handle, and thinketh no evil.

As to the first article.—The Rev. Presbytery was pleased to represent it as a favour that they were willing to have passed his refusal of the oaths. This he cannot understand to bear any other sense save that they were willing not to pursue him, nor inflict any censure upon him, because of his refusal, and from this consideration they aggravate his crime, in refusing, &c. He cannot easily reconcile this with Christian candour and ingenuity. Yet being loth to think so harshly of his brethren, he shall rather impute it to inadvertance. An ordinary observer might tell them, it was not in their power to pursue him nor censure him. No ecclesiastical statute obliged him or any man to take these oaths (as it was in the case of our covenants) and therefore a refusal could not found a church pursuit, when the state did overlook it. There was no transgression of any act in the case, save an act of parliament, and it might have been reputed a strange flight of Heteroclitite zeal, should his reverend brethren have taken upon them to execute acts of parliament. He hopes then to be excused, that he account it no great favour, that they omitted that which was not in their power to have done. 2dly, As to the article itself, *viz.* That he declared in public his refusal of the oaths, and taught the unlawfulness of taking them. He replies, that this article is not represented fairly, nor in a suitableness to matter of fact, as was cleared before themselves at the visitation. For, 1. He spake nothing of the oath, as required of these who are in civil trust. 2. Neither had he the least design to have spoken one word about the matter, had not his refusal been publicly condemned in the hearing of his own people, as was more particularly before narrated. 3. That which he spake, and was mentioned before, was rather calculated to remove mistakes about his refusal, than to vindicate it,

it, and had so much of reserve and caution intermixed, that he could not have managed the credit and just respect he bore unto his dear brethren to greater advantage. 4. It is true indeed that the matter of fact was reported to them far otherwise than they upon trial found it to be; but mere surmises, and far less the reproachful accounts of these who were his enemies, because of his faithfulness to them, could not afford any sufficient foundation for an immediate process. Though it had been a matter of heresy, he presumes his honest brethren would not have taken the report of an enemy, and instantly processed him thereupon, without some previous enquiry in a private way, which, to be sure, had been at least equally necessary in the present case. 5. This sudden prosecution appeared to him the more strange, after the ingenuous account he had given of the whole matter under his own hand, in a letter to one of his reverend brethren, which he desired might be communicated, and wherein he represented, that having been with much reluctance constrained to speak in his own defence on that head (now that it was over) he inclined not to meddle any more therewith in the course of his ministry. 6. Moreover had he been altogether silent, considering his stated judgment, his own people might justly have reckoned him self-condemned, as having adventured upon a practice, for which he had not the heart or courage to open his mouth when assaulted openly. 7. Though he shall be loth to stretch parallels beyond what is due, and the circumstanced cases render necessary, yet there are clauses in an old act of assembly which bore considerable weight with him at that time. The act is July 28, anno 1648, sess. 18, intituled, "Act and Declaration against an Act of Parliament, and against all new Oaths and Bonds in the Common Cause, imposed without Consent of the Church;" wherein, near the end, we have these remarkable words:—"Therefore they likewise enjoin all the members of this kirk to forbear swearing, subscribing, or pressing of any new oaths, not approved by the Assembly, or by their counsel, countenance or approbation, make themselves accessory to the taking such oaths and bonds by others." He knows it will readily be excepted, that the act relates only to church oaths,

whereas

whereas the oath under view is of a civil nature : But it is easily answered, that it relates to oaths imposed at that time, *viz.* when the unlawful engagement, condemned by this church, was contrived and carried on, and the oaths then on foot, though in their nature civil, yet were taken into cognizance by the Assembly, because of their relation to very important ecclesiastical concerns, in regard of their respects to our covenants, and that they had a tendency to ensnare and pollute men's consciences by contrarieties thereunto, as the acts themselves, at greater length, do bear. And the present case is, in so far parallel, that these oaths are imposed upon ministers as a necessary qualification, without which none may be ministers or preachers within this church, as appeareth by the act of parliament enjoining them, intituled, "Act for settling the Peace and Quiet of the Church;" and further it is to be specially remarked, that our allegiance is a part of our covenants, and duly qualified and limited therein by the defence and maintenance of our religion and liberties, as the scriptures require; and as the divesting of our allegiance of this necessary limitation was one of the chief grounds of his aversion from taking that oath, so (which is the matter now in hand) such a material alteration rendered it matter of church-concern. It was a needful and lovely part of our reformation, that our allegiance was brought to run in a scriptural channel, and (allow him to say) it was the duty and interest of this church to have watched against the carrying it out of these boundaries, which God himself hath set, and so much the rather because the acts of parliament against that and all other limitations of allegiance were left standing and unrepealed at the Revolution, and continue in force to this moment. So much for the first article.

As to the second, namely, That having been required to promise a forbearance of speaking concerning that matter again in public, he refused to give any such promise. *Answ.* The reverend brethren knew very well, before the giving this libel, that his ardent desires of peace had carried him as near to a positive promise as in conscience he could go: He declared and gave under his hand, his sincere intention to abstract from that matter, and he was the more free to give all possible satisfaction

to his reverend brethren on that head, because of the manifest danger which attended a meddling with matters of that sort in public, especially in that place of the country where then he sojourned, because of the extremes of schism to which many had gone in, and others were ready to decline. This situation of matters required the utmost caution and reserve, lest any handle should be given to them towards these extremes, which he sincerely detested. And though he could not consent to give the required promise, yet except a transient sentence or two in a neighbouring congregation, to which he thought himself some way constrained, he remembers not that ever he spoke one word about that matter in public. This by the way. To return, he represented that his vindication was extorted from him, for taking off aspersions cast upon his ministry, and he was fully resolved to rest there, as was already accounted for, and he loves not to repeat. Nevertheless as he could not in conscience give any such promise, so he wonders that they yet insist upon it. • Sure the law is patent, and every member of a judicatory is accountable to and censurable by the court itself, and higher courts, if it be needful: For his part, he promised to do his utmost for satisfying them as to whatsoever might afterwards befall in the course of his ministry, whether as to doctrine or practice. And considering his private judgment, that the taking that oath by ministers, as it was circumstanced, was sinful, and that the matter also is of a public concern, he could not promise never to express any resentment of that which he thought to be evil, not knowing what providential call might come in his way, in case the laws be carried the lengths mentioned in them, and all the callers of ministers be obliged to take the oaths for qualifying them to call.

As to the third article, *viz.* his inviting H—— to preach with him, &c. The state of that matter was ingenuously laid before them, and he cannot but think strange that they should have made up a libel of materials which they might have known, and he thinks themselves knew, to be destitute of all foundation, after the plain accounts which were given to themselves. In sum, the foresaid H—— (for what he knows) had not then
got

got any libel, and to be sure he was not brought under any sentence for some years after. It were a stretch contrary to all law, reason and common practice, to inhibit a minister from preaching before either probation or sentence. This were to pass censure before either hearing or trial. If it be alledged, that the said H—— preached irregularly, &c. PHILOMATHES makes no doubt, but that the Synod might have discharged him and any minister to do so, and it was to prevent that irregularity that he invited him to preach with himself, as was before represented. Besides, the prohibition was never intimated, neither publicly nor to H—— himself. A law not promulgated cannot be reckoned obligatory. Moreover he was in circumstances much of a piece with these of the foresaid H——. They were both pursued, and their affairs depending, not judged by inferior courts, nor as yet brought before the supreme one, and the alledged crime is, they preached together upon a providential, and (to PHILOMATHES) an unforeseen and undesired meeting.

Now remaineth the fourth and weightiest article of the libel, *viz.* That he had separated from his own Presbytery, and joined himself to a separated society. *Ans.* The whole matter was narrated before, and he wearied to repeat; namely, after that he had been prosecuted for somewhat spoken in public about the oath, and that the diet of the Assembly was deserted, but especially after that the penitential address had been sent up to the King, he had such scruples (as he was circumstanced) about attending judicatories for a while, until he further weighed the matter, and therefore thought fit to consult with judicious, learned and godly men, who better understood things of that sort, but was fully resolved to suppress the grounds of his demurring, and therefore did his utmost to procure the Rev. Presbytery overlooking his absence from their meetings for one or at most two diets. This they would not do, but summoned him by their officer to compare before them; and having made some overtures to him, to which he neither agreed, nor did he refuse them, but humbly and earnestly entreated that they would allow him a little time, and promised to give a positive answer, either to themselves at their
first

first meeting, or before that time to their commissioners, during the sitting of the Assembly, &c. of all which before. They thereupon concluded, that he had stated a separation from the church of Scotland, without any further inquiry, which, as it was most remote from his thoughts, so the harmless motion of consulting his managements with judicious and godly men gave them as little ground to think it, at least they might have inquired, whether he meant a separated society, to which he would readily have answered, that he understood no such thing: and to this moment he was never once present in any such society. So much for answer to the libel.

SECTION VII.

Account of the Author's uneasy Situation and Behaviour with respect to the Presbytery previous to the meeting of the Assembly. Their Proceedings. The Assembly decline giving Judgment in his Cause. Their Proceedings relative to the Comprehension of the Episcopal Clergy.

PHILOMATHES shall next account for his conduct with respect to the Rev. Presbytery, until the Assembly met, which befel not for a long while, in regard of adjournments by the King. This much crossed his measures, who firmly expected an issue of his business upon a fair hearing by that venerable court: for in case of an hearing, one of two prospects could not have failed him; either the Assembly would have taken under cognizance the grievances he complained of, or at least he would have had access to give his testimony. If both should have happened, it would have been so much the better, and yet he would have been satisfied upon a sincere and plain exoneration of his conscience.

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(1.) It was most uneasy to him to keep at a distance from his reverend and dear brethren during that interval, which was lengthened out beyond what either they or he expected ; and yet he could not had freedom to go abruptly to their meetings, in regard they had brought him under an ecclesiastical process, and cited him to appear, as a guilty person, before the General Assembly, to which charge they all adhered : Nevertheless he kept in terms of friendship with them, as much as possibly he could in his uneasy circumstances : He gladly heard his reverend brethren whensoever he had occasion, and jointly with the elders of the congregation, he sent one of their number, from time to time, to attend them, to propose what he was required to lay before them as to matters of discipline, and to crave their orders in what concerned the congregation ; which also were exactly put in execution ; he also gave punctual obedience to their appointments, and went all the lengths of conformity and compliance with them, wherein he could find peace. The plain truth is, it was a burden to him to absent from their meetings ; so far was he from having stated a separation from the judicatories of the church of Scotland, notwithstanding encroachments made upon their liberties ; but being most earnestly desirous of a hearing at the General Assembly, which was to have met very soon after the citation they gave him, and before the Presbytery could have convened, he would then have had no occasion : and now that the time was lengthened out, it was owing to State-adjournments of the Assembly. Notwithstanding, in regard his brethren had in so far cast him out, that they summoned him to appear as a criminal before the General Assembly, and adhered to what they had done, he truly thought the credit of his ministry required the fore-mentioned distance, and a reserving matters as they stood, to a hearing of the General Assembly.

(2.) At this time, diverse of these who separated from Presbyterian ministers resorted to him, and sought to converse with him, expecting doubtless that he would join issue with them ; but as he was, and still is, utterly displeased with the extremes to which they have declined, so it was ordinarily a pain to him, and did heighten his griefs

griefs to converse with them. What that set of people is in bulk, he shall not determine; but most of them he had occasion to see were a burden to him, being ignorant and of a Phariafaical set, highly conceited of themselves, and * despising others. The image of Christ in its brightest lustre was no attractive to them, and few of these he knew were in case to judge in that matter: They generally were for separating to the greatest heights from all who, in every thing, did not agree with them. Some few indeed who lived at a considerable distance, and came sometimes to visit him, he found of another set; but these were very sober and tractable on the head of church communion. They were not positive, but easy, and willing to be instructed; only they heavily lamented some things sadly out of course amongst us, and wherein he could not but agree with them; as that we had much degenerated from the zeal and integrity of our worthy ancestors, and that the general strain both of doctrine and practice was different from what we had professed under the former persecution, wherein we avowed and stood for a covenanted work of reformation with courage and resolution. But more especially they both regretted much want of soul exercise amongst many of the ministers, and that the hands of the wicked, and diverse of them old persecutors, were generally strengthened by unwarrantable familiarity with them, and sundry stretches to please them; while persons truly and eminently godly, and diverse of them old and honest sufferers, were discountenanced and borne down, and sparkles of zeal for our covenants against former and present corruptions (though with an utter aversion from separating courses) were carefully suppressed; as if they had been the only dangerous persons in whom the image of Christ did shine with the sweetest lustre. They mutually bemoaned the burying a covenanted work of reformation in a great part, and covering our old and late defections; even the most notour and uncontroverted of which we could never be induced to acknowledge solemnly, lest we should displease our great men. We had ceased to appear with zeal and vigour for the royalties of Christ, and the liberties of his house, as our worthy

* Isa. lxxv. 5. Luke xviii. 9. Rom. ii. 17.

thy progenitors had done, and as many despised them for a set of imprudent, inconsiderate and precipitant men, so all possible precaution was used, lest such contentings for the interests of our Lord's kingdom should be revived; and therefore care was taken that only such as were called *Moderate*, being set upon the desired accommodations, (or willing to go into them) should have the management of our affairs both in Church and State. Thus a goodly part of the church of Scotland's testimony fell to the ground in so far.

(3.) He thought it observable, that the fore-mentioned compliances and accommodations could not abide the light. He knows not whether ever they were fairly considered and reasoned in any one church judicatory; but well he remembers, they were much laid to heart by sundry Presbyterians, who carefully instructed their commissioners to General Assemblies, that they should do their utmost for procuring an ecclesiastical assertion of our church government and liberties, in opposition to encroachments which were made thereupon: and so much was inserted into the commissions of diverse of them, and read in open assembly (as commissions are in use to be), which alarmed our courtly men. Yet none of these instructions could obtain a hearing, neither were they ever reasoned in the Committee of Overtures, nor in any other, for what he knows. He is very sure (having been ordinarily present at Assemblies) that some members of great influence amongst us, to whom the consideration of instructions were ordinarily intrusted, did so labour that the foresaid, and any other which would have given umbrage to the court, were still crushed; none of them were so much as allowed to be reasoned, that some overture thereanent might be prepared for the Assembly.— And lest any thing of that sort should afterwards be heard in open assemblies, a form of commission was agreed upon, and enacted in an Assembly, where sundry commissions of that honest tenor had been read; and Presbyteries were enjoined in time coming to draw their commissions in these express words; which accordingly was done ever since that time.

(4.) Hence it was most afflicting to him, that little freedom is found in our church judicatories, and least of all

all in our General Assemblies; and that we have submitted to the Erastian yokes in a great measure. He would think it an essential part of the liberty of assemblies, that members have access to propose to the respective committees things of weight, and such especially about which they are particularly and expressly instructed by their constituents, but if that cannot be allowed, that they apply immediately to the Assembly, and if there be just ground from the word, solid reason, and the acts and constitution of this church, in her purer times, to reject such motions, let so much be declared by the Assembly itself, and the motion cast fairly out of doors. If otherwise, why should not such proposals be entertained. But that a few men, either dependents upon the courts of princes, or under a court influence, should upon the matter rule all, and so far prevail that such things as they apprehend will run cross to their court interest, shall not be so much as proposed in an Assembly, seems manifestly to entrench upon their liberty. That matters (unless in a very few instances) have been so stated with us, he thinks not any who know us will deny, being plain fact. All motions uneasy to court settlements have still been borne down by private intrigues, force and frowns, or violence and clamour.

(5.) Notwithstanding, he believes that his mother-church is founded upon the rock Christ. Our standards as to doctrine, worship, discipline and government, continues pure, and are not inferior to these of any church in the world, for what he knows. And notwithstanding many things amiss in point of management, there is a desirable company of godly persons amongst us, who may be accounted the Lord's witnesses, and do bear testimony for the interests of his kingdom and gospel, as they can find access; and hence he still looked upon it as his positive and clear duty to continue in communion with his mother-church, entertaining due regards for her as a mother, though pleading with earnestness and impartiality against whatsoever he found whorish in her conduct. Proposals were made to him by these who separate, and thought his uneasiness under an ecclesiastical pursuits would have made way for their invitations to go over unto them, but instead of yielding to such motions, he

he thought it rather his duty to do his utmost for preventing the entanglement of others, or recovering them from that snare, and he longed exceedingly to have matters adjusted betwixt the Rev. Presbytery and him upon a fair hearing by the General Assembly, to which they had cited him.

(6.) During this interval betwixt the citation and the sitting of the Assembly, which was long, because of its adjournments, he had a conflicting time: For upon the one hand he could by no means be induced to comply with the Separatists, nor could their strongest solicitations prevail with him ever to go to any of their meetings: Upon the other, he was straitened with the Presbytery, and had several conferences and debates with some members. They kept at a distance for some time, only some brethren insinuated more covertly, that they thought the Rev. Presbytery might be prevailed with to drop the process, and receive him, providing he would apply, and they pressingly offered to intercede with them for that effect, if he would but desire it, which yet he declined; and finding that he could not be prevailed with in that manner, they opened, and entreated him to return, promising to destroy the process utterly, as if it never had been. Neither wanted he inclinations to live in the fulness of communion with his dear brethren, which he had entertained before, and would have returned, had not the ecclesiastical process, and the citation they had given him to appear before the General Assembly, stood in the way. The matter was now become public, known to much of the nation, and beyond it, and as the eyes of many were upon him, so he thought the credit and success of his ministry required that he should do his utmost towards the continuance of the pursuit, to the dropping whereof he could not give his consent. It had certainly fallen upon his return; for his brethren wished heartily that they had never begun it. He resolved therefore to continue in the same circumstances wherein it found him, when commenced, that, if possible, the whole matter might be brought under the cognizance of the General Assembly, not so much because of his particular concern, but in regard it contained matters of a public nature, which he is of the mind,

as aforesaid, that the church ought to have laid to heart, though the process had never been instituted.

(7.) At length, after sundry delays, the Assembly sat, and the Presbytery renewed the citation a while before the meeting thereof, having sent their officer to PHILOMATHES's house for that effect; but he saw him not having gone into Edinburgh, that he might enjoy some time and settlement before his appearance. A little after he had come in, a grave and worthy minister of the city sent expressly for him, and enquired with great concern, whether he had separated from the church judicatories, and would not concur with any of them, as a member? He presently and readily answered, that he was very far from entertaining any such thought or design, and that his abstraction from the Presbytery to which he pertained was entirely owing to the uneasy circumstances into which they had brought him, and he expected would be removed upon a fair hearing of the whole matter by the General Assembly, and their decision in the cause. This satisfied him, and he insisted no further, being, it is like, unwilling to enter upon any disquisition about the state of his affair with that judicatory. And when the business came to be more generally known to the members of the Assembly and others, the conduct of the Presbytery was universally disrelished. He remembers not to have seen one person who approved their management. Neither did the General Assembly take any notice of the process. He remembers that one of the brethren commissioned from that Rev. Presbytery did his utmost to get the process brought under the consideration of the Committee of Overtures; but both the Moderator, who also was a Moderator of the Assembly, as is usual, and the rest of that committee, neglected him utterly, and went to other business. Nevertheless he insisted until, with the concurrence of the committee, and also of his own fellow commissioners, the Moderator commanded him silence. PHILOMATHES was present, and well satisfied, being ready to appear and undergo the trial, but having seen so much of keen frowardness at that time to crush the least motion about carrying on the pursuit, he almost concluded he would be eased of that labour against his will. Yet in regard many things remarkable fell in
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before that Assembly, he shall ingenuously account for them to his survivors, so far as he was engaged, having been under a necessity to act some part in these matters, wherewith his own affairs were much interwoven.

1st, Some while after that the Assembly had sitten, a committee having been appointed to meet upon a weighty affair, diverse ministers and some persons of honour withdrew to another room before the meeting, where they continued for some space, and afterward sent for PHILOMATHES, who being at hand obeyed instantly, and stood before them, waiting to understand what their will was with him : But none of them would utter one word until he sat down amongst them, which, with much reluctance, he was obliged to do. They were pleased to acquaint him, that they knew he was cited to compare before the Assembly, and expressed much tenderness of concern about him, for that his difficult circumstances had fixed the eyes of many upon him, being brought, as it were, upon a public stage, where his deportment would not want its influence one way or another upon the general state of the church. They also condescended to concert with him what method he would incline should be used in his affair; and he doubts not but that the least insinuation from himself that it might be wholly dropped, would have been most acceptable to them all, though they did not propose it. He replied, that being under process it became him not to propose any motion, that he would patiently await the pleasure of his reverend and honourable judges, and was ready to manage his defence in such ways, as they would determine; only he intreated to be heard to the full; but their insisting with much unexpected respect and discretion, brought him under a necessity to express his thoughts concerning the proposal. He answered then freely and resolutely, he desired the usual forms might be used in his case without the least variation, and that some one committee or other of the Assembly would transmit the affair unto them in the accustomed manner, that the Rev. Presbytery and he might be fully heard in open Assembly. He acknowledged himself to be very unequally matched with his reverend brethren who were pleased to appear as his accusers, and yet he had so much confidence in the equity
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of the cause, that he feared not the cognizance and decision of that venerable court. Herein poor PHILOMATHES acted a more honest and ingenuous than a prudent or political part, for he saw clearly the more desirous he was of a public hearing, the greater was their aversion from it; and though he entirely suppressed his grounds, yet they understood them. But all they signified to him was only that they apprehended a throng of business would readily so straiten the Assembly as to hinder their overtaking his affair; and enquired whether he would be satisfied to have it referred by them to the Commission; to which he replied, that having been summoned to appear and answer before the venerable Assembly, his most earnest desire was to be heard by them, yet being a pannel he might not prescribe, but was obliged to submit. Yet it was not the straitness of time that bore the greatest weight with them; for one diet would have served his cause, had they been inclined to judge in the matter: there were other things upon the file which procured the laying aside of his affair entirely. Of these he offers the following account to his honest survivors, having been an eye and ear witness, and as much engaged in action with reference to them as one in his circumstances could be.

2dly, His reader may remember, that in a sort of penitential address before-mentioned, the brethren who took upon them to send it were pleased liberally to promise, that in case the King would call a General Assembly, they would fall upon some measures with respect to the Episcopal Clergy, which they expected would be satisfying to his Majesty. In consequence hereunto the Estates of parliament had by an act recommended to the church such of the prelatial clergy as might regularly apply unto them, and that they should be received into the communion of the church, providing they engaged to concur with them in the ecclesiastical church-government, and that nothing scandalous were made out against them within the space of thirty days after their applying. His Majesty had also recommended that matter to their peculiar care; upon which and other grounds much of a piece with them, the Assembly thought themselves obliged to enter upon the consideration of terms for assuming

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into a share of the government such of the late curates as were qualified by law, and at length a Formula was drawn up, to be subscribed for that effect, which he repeats not here; his reader may find it in the printed acts of Assembly: The draught was first proposed to the Committee of Overtures; and to prevent more open contests there, they named a sub-committee to meet in a private house, for reasoning the matter, and allowed any member of assembly or minister who pleased, to have access to them; others attempted not to thrust themselves in upon a dwelling-house.

3dly, Notwithstanding the meeting was numerous, and the communings were close and free. Some aged, learned and godly ministers, who were not members of the Assembly, came in, and acted a very honest part. These had been honoured to give many proofs of their faithfulness and courage under the former persecution. There were also young men present, who very cordially joined them, and spoke what came to their share. PHILOMATHES did also put in his mite with the rest. They all with one voice judiciously, weightedly, and calmly represented the manifold iniquities of the court-project. Nothing material (for what he can understand) was omitted for setting that piece of defection in a true light.—It would be long to deduce the particular reasonings; let it suffice that he point at the chief topics, his exercised and godly reader will not want enlargement. The intrinsical and moral evil of Prelacy, as condemned in the word of God, and therefore abjured in our covenants, &c. was represented. The grievous sufferings of many for refusing to testify their acknowledgment of, and compliance with his Majesty's government ecclesiastical, by hearing the curates (these are the words of the act of parliament) were mentioned. Our obligation also by covenant to contribute our utmost for the extirpation of that hierarchy, was not forgotten; and diverse other important particulars of the like nature were remonstrated; all which appeared to them most inconsistent with the grand design then on foot. It was also in a special manner remembered and declared pointedly, that the curates pretended not to be taken as penitents (in which event their desires might justly challenge an impartial con-

consideration) but were recommended by the State as a distinct body, only qualified, or such as would qualify themselves by law. Neither did any of them appear at this Assembly, or give one way or other the least insinuation of their being sensible of their grievous defections, and the wicked courses wherein they had formerly lived in conformity to abjured prelacy, and the scandalous oaths they had taken, particularly that compound of them all—the abominable Test. The parliament had laid down and recommended to the assembly a method for comprehending them, which could consist with a burying all these enormous evils in a perpetual oblivion, and could stand with their adhering to the wicked principles upon which they were founded; and they thought it their wisdom to leave the matter entirely to that issue, without appearing in their own cause, as they had done at the former assembly. It was pertinently signified hereupon, that such were not the methods of this church in her purest times: They themselves took gross defections under their own cognizance, and did not employ persons guilty of them, nor consent to their being installed into places of power and trust, without some evidences of their repentance. And howsoever this ordinance was prostituted to the mockery of the prophane by the public resolutioners, who opened, in this method, a way for the unlawful Engagers to be admitted to public trusts, which was an unaccountable abuse, yet the abuse of no institution can justly militate against the lawful use thereof.

At this time, and in conferences about these matters, the Divine appointment concerning the Levites, who had gone astray after idols, was urged (though he cannot condescend upon the particular diets or occasions) as we have it recorded Ezek. xlv from ver. 10th, and onward: his honest reader will view, and ponder it.—PHILOMATHES may be allowed to narrate the matter historically, whatsoever his survivors shall think with respect to the present case. The words are memorable, *viz.* ver. 13, 14, 15. “They shall not come near unto me, (saith the Lord) to do the office of a priest unto me, nor to come near unto any of my holy things, &c: But I will make them keepers of the charge of the house for all the service, &c: But the priests, the Levites, the
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sons of Zadock, that kept the charge of my sanctuary; when the children of Israel went astray from me, they shall come near to minister unto me, and they shall stand before me, &c." His readers may view the whole context. He enters not upon a disquisition of parallelisms in the case, nor shall he enquire into the measures which may be taken in the event of true penitence, and satisfying evidences thereof, seeing nothing of that sort was so much as pretended here. He only offers a simple remark, with all submission, which both then and since that time was afflicting to many excellent ones of the earth, as well as to him, namely, that matters in our day have, for most part, been carried to a posture, which is the direct reverse of the text, *viz.* they who had been most steady and faithful under the greatest heights of persecution, were generally looked upon as dangerous persons, and instead of being encouraged and intrusted according to their abilities, it was one of the principal maxims of our day, to keep them at all possible distance from our managements. Temporisers, and sundry who had gone the greatest lengths of compliance, yea, and persecution in former times, but went into the present court-measures, were caressed and honoured. Such compliances were so far from standing in the way of their advancement, that they greatly recommended them; though diverse of them stood not to avow it, and church-men declared it more openly than he inclines to mention, that they were as ready to turn, in case of a change, as ever: The indifferent men, who were for making our church concerns variable and ambulatory, and looked no higher than to Revolution principles, were and are generally our leading men. Zeal for a covenanted work of reformation, though attended with scripturally prudent measures, and a just aversion from pushing matters to any extreme, or moving one step beyond the Lord's call, and his preparing the way, is notwithstanding worn almost entirely out of date. Persons of this set, though otherwise godly, learned, prudent, averse from precipitant measures, and true friends both to Church and State, are notwithstanding kept down as dangerous; whereas the current is strong to cast our church-concerns into political molds, and to accommodate them to a serving state-interests.

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Sure the affairs of Christ's kingdom are of a quite other nature, and can only be rightly managed by the rules he himself hath set down in his word. Religion is (may be so term it) of a brittle nature, it may be indeed broken, but bow it cannot. He hopes his reader will allow or pardon this digression; he now reassumes the thread.

The more general sentiments of ministers in former assemblies were now called over again, *viz.* that such only of the late conformists ~~be~~ received who, after a due trial, and competent time for that effect, should give grounds to expect that they would be faithful to God, and the Government. They were moreover reminded of the grievous offence which the desired comprehension of the curates would give; as if this Presbyterian church thought Prelacy, and conformity thereunto, with the wicked oaths attending it, a light thing, and that all the testimonies, by acting and suffering, which since our Reformation were given against that branch of Antichristianism, had been but nice and needless scrupulosities, seeing we were ready to receive with open arms, and to take into our very bosoms, the prelate's underlings, yea, and the chief infligators and promoters of our persecutions, merely upon state-terms, without the least resentment of all these wickednesses. It was also gravely laid before them, that many separated from this church upon the account of grievances not heard by our assemblies, nor redressed by them, notwithstanding the repeated desires of the separating people. And however they approved not their schism, yet it pierced their hearts to consider that the comprehension now on foot would add a vast deal to the grievances, and strengthen them in their separation, besides its tendency to increase their number; and in regard that many undoubtedly godly persons of the younger sort, and sundry old and honest sufferers, were either wholly engaged or had a strong tincture of that kind, the matter challengeth the more serious concern. Several deficiencies in the Formula itself were in like manner observed and objected, either in that or other conferences, (for his memory and scrapes of notes cannot serve him to distinguish the diets) which have engaged him; but he well remembers a principal one, namely, that their being required to acknowledge Presbyterian government
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to be the only government of this church, is exceptionable on many accounts, and is, at best, ambiguous. If the sense be, that it is the only government in being, and exercised for that time, what need is there to declare that by oath (upon the matter) or the solemnity of a subscribed formula? What necessity is there to assert, with the greatest solemnity, that it is day, and not night, when the sun shines at noon-tide? Or if it be the only government of this church, which hath a legal establishment for the time, who doubts it? And what congruity is there in such a solemn declaration of matter of fact, or that there is such an act of parliament? If somewhat more be intended, *viz.* that it is the only government of this church suited to the inclinations of the people, this amounts not to the owning it as a standing ordinance of Christ. Other governments are also suited to the inclinations of the respective people, and the prelatical hierarchy is thought to be most agreeable to the inclinations of our English neighbours. It is true the formula contains an engagement to adhere unto Presbyterian government, and never to endeavour a subversion thereof, but unless it be acknowledged to be a Divine ordinance, the promised adherence cannot reasonably be extended beyond the foundation of the government itself; and in case of a change of people's inclinations, and the legal or church establishment of a quite contrary government, it cannot import an obligation on them not to go into such a change, though it indeed imply their not endeavouring it. Thus we yield one great point of our reformation in so far, forasmuch as we are obliged by oath to endeavour the extirpation of prelacy, and to adhere unto Presbyterian government as a divine ordinance. And if the words should be stretched beyond what they can bear, and is intended by the project, as if they should denote a Divine appointment, the difficulties are not lessened, but rather raised to a greater height; for so understood, the formula is contrary to the oaths they took before, and *in terminis* contradictory to the Test, whereby they had sworn that the external government of the church is an inherent right of the crown. This would import downright perjury, in regard neither the church requireth, nor do themselves own the least conviction of the
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evil of these former oaths, nor remorse for them. In this sense explicit perjury would be the door at which they enter into a share of the government.

4thly, These and the like considerations were represented by some few, who stood in the breach, and signified their minds with much weightiness of concern; but the contrary spirit was strong, though nothing considerable was offered in answer. Notwithstanding PHILOMATHES shall with the same ingenuity lay before his readers all that he can possibly overtake of what was advanced for the project, and in answer to the fore-mentioned grounds. To that which was said about the necessity of some satisfying indications of repentance, &c. it was replied, that this were to encourage a mere sham or juggling semblance, whereunto the worst and most insignificant of them would comply, and the better or more generous sort would not. And to this purpose the mock-repentances of our old engagers were remembered with disdain, and the folly of such like courses tartly ridiculed. To which it was gravely replied, that mock-repentances offered, or accepted, made nothing against such as were or might be charitably presumed to be real; that church judicatories ought the more narrowly to advert to the whole concerns of that matter, and in case of difficulty there was no hazard in a delay; that the boundary of thirty days set by the estates of parliament ought not to sway us in prejudice of the cause. And in case of assumption, it were proper their penitence should appear by a suitable conversation, ere so great a trust were committed to them. A too easy compliance in former times should render us the more cautious now. It was moreover advanced for the court, that it was expedient to take in the curates, because in that event they would be under discipline, and a watchful eye being kept over them, in case of a just cause, they might be cast out afterward. This was not alledged at that time, but upon another occasion; and the following answers were given to the argument: 1. This were to do evil, that good may come of it, and the damnation of such is just. Our Lord's matters should be managed by his own rules, and not by vain and sinful human politics. 2. We have too good cause to think that the same authority which prevails

prevails to a reception of these men, will procure their protection equal to if not above any of our own. 3. So much also hath appeared in effect, for they have been supported; and the promoters and favourers of what was called Moderation, who plied to, or did not cross court designs, have still had a chief hand in the management of our business, while all motions towards a reviving our covenanted work of reformation were still crushed in the bud, and men of that temper (though hating separation) have still been kept off from our counsels and affairs as much as possible. 4. In fine, this was a mere pretext, for these pretensions (so much boasted of) were never attempted, and, as appeared, were little intended by the chief promoters of this courtly design, though the more simple were imposed upon by such pretences.

5thly, When matters were so far discussed, and the courtly exceptions taken off, some of good note expressed their fears lest the design should miscarry, and the Presbytery of Edinburgh be found reprovably, who, to cast a copy, had, at their own hand, taken in diverse of these men. At length the plain truth was told, namely, that it was the King's express will, and must necessarily be done; whereupon, to smooth the matter, a person of honour, and in great public trust, had a discourse to this effect, viz. It would not be generous to reject an enemy who humbly desireth fair quarter, and so much the rather when, over and above, he frankly and voluntarily offers his service, and it were a most unwise part to refuse such advantageous offers. Notwithstanding the elegant harangue bore little weight with those who stood up for the good old cause, for no wise man will rashly trust open and sometimes violent and persecuting enemies, unless they had good securities that they were become real friends, which in this case were neither offered nor sought. No enemies are so dangerous as they who deceive under the shew and semblance of friendship, which yet in this matter was but faintly pretended. Besides that his politic or rather military emblems were most remote from the interests of Christ's kingdom, and the state of immortal souls. It is no small matter, upon any terms, to intrust men who had been visibly treacherous with such weighty things, but to do it without so much

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as enquiring into, or requiring the least evidence of remorse for a long tract of defection from the Lord, and from the stated principles of this church, is a practice so far beyond any just apology, that had it not been done in face of the sun, instead of uttering one word about it, he would rather have said, "Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in the streets of Askelon." In fine, that noble Lord told them in plain terms, It was the King's will that the qualified curates, applying regularly, should be taken into judicatories, and have their share in the government: and if this were denied, his Majesty would grant them his royal protection however, and the refusal might at least weaken our own. But the reply was obvious; Let us be in our duty, and leave the event on Providence. Here was the real state of the matter, the contrariety of the desired reception to our principles was so manifest, that it could not admit of any tolerable colour. But we had not the honesty and courage to represent this, neither did we ever give any just account of the state of this church, nor resolutely own our principles, when our delegates had the opportunity (which was easily obtained) of representing these matters fully to the best of princes. Instead thereof large promises were made by some in name of this church, though without warrant from them, or so much as having communicated to these, in whose name they addressed, and such as gave the King just ground to expect that the proposal about the curates would find the desired entertainment. This PHILOMATHES thinks necessary to represent, lest what he hath said should detract from the honour of that illustrious hero, who yet otherwise was most benign and affable, but was never duly acquainted of our principles.

6thly, After much struggling, when nothing could prevail, it was at length overtured, that this meeting or subscription should propose to the Committee of Overtures, that they would revive the consideration of such terms of communion as had been communioned in sundry Assemblies since the Revolution, and in particular that enquiry be made into what sense the applying Curates might have of their former defections, and this was rather submitted than cordially agreed to, for our court

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managers were weary of such close debates. Thus ended these memorable conferences. But the large Committee of Overtures took none of these proposals under consideration, neither would they allow those matters to be reasoned amongst them. The estates of parliament had laid down a model for reception of the Curates, and though little mention was made of that honourable court, yet the strength of the current carried matters that way: and no more could be obtained from the committee save the insertion of this general instruction, amongst others, to be given to the subsequent Commission, viz. That due regard be had to ministerial qualifications; as his reader may view in the printed acts of Assembly.

7thly, All these things were managed in behalf of the Curates, but none of themselves appeared at the Assembly. The project of reception was to be chiefly referred to the subsequent Commission, and other judicatories, and the Assembly was to instruct them accordingly. In consequence hereunto, suitable instructions were drawn up, and came at length to be approved by the Assembly; but in a sort of constrained, strange and unusual manner; for many members were out a little before the vote, there were many *non liquets*, and generally the consenters agreed with difficulty, few were cordial. Just before the vote a reverend member enquired, what the venerable Assembly would have understood by "Regard to Ministerial Qualifications," mentioned in the instructions to be voted? And when the very reverend Moderator had given a general answer, narrating some incontestable requisites for that office, the same brother asked again, whether repentance for their former defections was to be reckoned amongst the requisites previously necessary to their reception? To this the Moderator replied, that at the reception the Moderators of the respective judicatories, which should take them in, might in a grave and serious discourse lay before them their former ~~courses~~ of defection, as the circumstanced cases shall require. But with all deference, PHILOMATHES must say it, this, if any thing, is little better than a sham, for the harangue is not delivered until the reception be already agreed to, and is usually answered by a bow to the Moderator: and sundry times they have owned their former ways in plain

plain terms, and were received notwithstanding. When the instructions came to be voted, *approve or not*, that reverend brother was the only *not* of the whole Assembly. Thus a wide door was opened for the comprehension of these men, and as sundry of them came in at it, so it is only owing to kind Providence, and not to our conduct, that the whole swarm entered not. But the hopes where-with they flattered themselves of getting their darling Popish King restored, determined the bulk of them to stand out.

8thly, After the former sad history, with some interspersed remarks, PHILOMATHES craves leave of his courteous readers, and hopes it will not be unacceptable to his honest survivors, that he offer some Testamentary Remarks upon the whole. These shall be but few, and entirely confined to one scriptural instance, which he thinks, containeth a decision of the matter by the righteous Judge of all the earth, namely, Acts ix. 26. "When Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples, but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple, &c." Allow him, with all dutiful respect, to represent some parallelisms of that history with the present case. 1. Saul had been of a contrary persuasion for some tract of time, and a violent persecutor while under the sway and influence of blind zeal: Our Curates were such, and continued of that mind even after their reception. 2. The disciples were afraid of Saul, though assaying to join with them, and believed not that he was a disciple; neither wanted they reasons to suspect him, considering what had been his former way, and his violence therein. 3. The Apostles and other overseers of the church received him not, till they were satisfied that the Lord had manifested himself graciously unto him, and called him to the work of the ministry. They bore not down the disciples by their authority, nor required of them to acquiesce in their decision as to that matter (though the apostolical authority be greater than ordinary teachers can pretend to), but, upon the contrary, the whole was acted in concert betwixt the apostles and disciples, or private Christians (who were so called in these days), and the

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one and other were satisfied concerning the gracious change which had been wrought on him. And that no shadow of exception may remain as to the affair, Saul (or Paul) himself omitted no fit opportunity for laying open the whole matter in the most public and solemn ways. Acts xxiv. from ver. 17. and chap. xxvi. from ver. 9. 1 Tim. i. 13, &c. He prescinds entirely from the extraordinaries in this great instance, and inferreth no more from it than these two or three considerations, which he thinks cannot well admit of debate, if politic and extraneous considerations be laid aside: (1.) That in soul and church concerns men ought to act from light and persuasion, founded upon the only rule of the word, according to which all the affairs of our Lord's kingdom should be exactly managed: (2.) That in church communion, and admission thereunto, whether as to the judicatories or otherwise, the grounds and motives of them who desire it, should be enquired into by these to whom the charge of such matters is committed by the Lord; and that there are grounds sufficient for rejecting such profers, when they who would associate themselves (having been of a contrary persuasion and way before) give no sufficient documents that they act conscientiously in the matter from the pressures of light and conviction. (3.) That disciples, or judicious and godly Christians, though in a private station, have warrant to enquire into the circumstanced case of these to whom the charge of souls is committed, and proper means should be used to satisfy Christ's sheep in matters of so great weight: neither will this be thought a hardship, when light from the Lord's word conveyed by his Spirit unto the heart and conscience is the spring of motion, and other considerations, how precious soever, are put in their own place, and kept in it, and no decisive voice is allowed to any, but to the Judge of the whole earth, speaking in and from his words. So much of a sort of *Epicrisis* he hath adventured upon, wherein he hopes his honest readers will not mistake his sincere designs. He now proceeds in the narration.

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

Conferences and Reasonings in Committees during the Assembly, about the Author's Cause, and the Public Affairs of the Time. He insists without effect for a judicial Discussion. Is left in the same Situation as before with his Presbytery.

WHILE these matters were under consideration before the venerable Assembly, diverse committees met, consisting for most part of the oldest, most learned and experienced members of the Assembly; not indeed by appointment (in regard PHILOMATHES's affair was never tabled before them) but by a secret concert, and the delegates from the Presbytery of H. as pursuers, together with PHILOMATHES, as the defender, were required to attend them; which they did accordingly, at several diets. These were spent in close and large conferences, wherein he had occasion to discourse the state of his affair with the Rev. Presbytery, and many other things which were mentioned before, and he shall not repeat: only a few particulars may be gleaned, which were either wholly passed, or touched more slenderly.

(1.) He took occasion to represent his sentiments, as aforesaid, concerning the Comprehension of the Cofates; and signified the complacency he had, in his present circumstances, as freeing him from having any hand in what he accounted a notable piece of defection, in regard he was no member of the Assembly, and was in a state of process by his Presbytery, and cited to appear before the General Assembly, whereby it was notour he had no hand in their business. He further declared how astonishing it was to him, that the Assembly should agree to take in the late Conformists upon a Formula, which,
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in the most favourable interpretation can be given of it, is just a reverse of the test they had taken before, and whereby the disposal of the external government of the church had been upon oath acknowledged as an inherent right of the Crown. This appeared to him a making perjury the very door of their entrance upon communion with us, in regard they did not profess the least remorse for the oaths they had already taken. To this no other answer was given, save that one of the reverend brethren essayed a little to allay the strength of the argument, by alledging, their willingness to sign a formula contrary to their former oaths, might be reputed some evidence of their repentance for them. But this he spake with little confidence (being otherwise a person in good repute for wisdom, learning and gravity); and it was instantly replied, that a willingness to swear, or promise contradictions, was rather an evidence of a conscience utterly debauched; and that even moral ingenuity and honesty would demand a restraining, instead of encouraging such forwardness. The overseers of Christ's house ought to enquire into the springs of such motions, and not to cherish propensions of wicked men, ready to cast themselves into any mold for their own carnal ends. He thought it truly observable that so much freedom in these, or yet more pointed words, procured not the least expression of heat or rancour. This he imputed to some conviction in their minds, that the present stretches were not altogether warrantable, though they thought fit to go into them upon prudential, or rather political considerations.

(2.) He also took the occasion to remind them of a remark frequently made by godly ministers and private Christians in the late persecuting times, *viz.* That how soon any person was brought under some effectual concernment about his salvation, he instantly began to weary of the Curates; and as the work went on, the disgust increased, until upon displays of the glory of Christ they became intolerable: and therefore the most eminent of our ministers spake ordinarily little of that controversy in their sermons, and employed their talents in preaching conversion, with other important concerns of the gospel; finding that a gaining of souls to Christ took them off
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from the Curates as deceivers, whose doctrine and way tended to build up and advance, instead of breaking and battering down Satan's kingdom. Yea, and even the more openly wicked, and chief supporters of the Antichristian hierarchy, could scarcely endure the sight of these men, when, under sickness or otherwise, their consciences were awakened. Hereof there are known instances, and of some who were great in the government: from all which and the like topics, he inferred, that the design of comprehension now on foot was amazing. At this some stormed, alledging they could adduce contrary instances; yet one of the meeting, a person in good account, acknowledged that the remark was just, as to the bulk of them, but did also assert there were contrary instances, which yet none of them adduced. He also excepted against the formula itself, as entirely waving the Divine institution of any government whatsoever, and asserting no more, save that Presbyterial government is the only government of this church; of which before.

(3.) The encroachments made upon the liberties of our Assemblies were also discoursed and debated at some length; and in particular the adjournments and dissolutions of them in the name and by the authority of the King; besides, that members were influenced, biassed, and one way or another so persuaded or overpowered, that neither the grievances of many judicious and godly in the land (who yet keep all due measures with the church) could ever be brought under the view of an assembly: nor yet, though sundry Presbyteries had instructed their delegates with respect to several of the more important amongst these grievances, did even these instructions ever get a hearing, notwithstanding the most pressing instances for that effect. Hereupon PHILOMATHES took occasion to remind the reverend brethren and fathers of the wrestlings of the church since the Reformation, in bearing testimony to the royalties of Christ, and asserting the liberties wherewith he had made his churches free; and even amidst the heaviest persecutions, when Prelacy and Erastianism were in their prime, and the dangers of acting a faithful part were great, yet severals were honoured of the Lord to bear testimony against encroachments upon the interests of his kingdom, yea,

yet, and the body of the ministry of this church had acquitted themselves faithfully in these regards, when contrary tides were strongest; of which he adduced some memorable instances known in our history, and not necessary to be repeated in this manner.

(4.) To this it was answered (for he shall conceal nothing on either hand, so far as he can overtake) that the circumstances of time, and the advantages attending one season beyond another, may render that impracticable in one case, which in others would be just and seasonable. We had, said they, a considerable number of persons of note, noblemen and gentlemen on our side, both in the more early times which succeeded our reformation from popery, and also when we were retrieved from advances that way, and prelacy was shaken off, with a revival of our covenants at and after the year 1638: But now the face of affairs is sadly changed, after that prelacy, with its many sad appurtenances, had fixed its roots so very deeply from the year 1662; and hence they alledged, that this was not the season for such appearances and testimonies; and the ordinary distinction of *obligare semper* & *ad semper*, was frequently urged both then and since that time. This opened the way to a more close enquiry into the proper seasons for bearing testimony, and PHILOMATHES shall ingenuously represent what was said for taking off the exception, though he cannot condescend upon the particular occasions, or distinctly narrate what passed at the several meetings, some time having intervened ere he collected the purposes.

(5.) More generally, 1. He signified, that it is a bad way of reasoning to argue the matter of sin and duty merely or chiefly from what it is thought may probably be the consequences. Our known and received principles as Protestant bears, that the written word ought only to determine us in that point; and we should have our recourse entirely unto the law and * testimony. As to what remains, self-denial, and taking up our cross daily, would bring us to composed satisfaction and sweet solace, whatever might follow. Whosoever deals singly, and chuseth the way of duty, as he hath, in case of sufferings, the Lord's call thereunto, so he may, of free

* Isa. viii. 20. Luke xvi. 29. 2 Peter i. 13.

mercy, expect his gracious presence therein. And whatsoever be of that matter, viz. of suffering, duty is ours, while the effects and consequences are at the disposal of our sovereign Lord, whose infinite wisdom often befools our measures. * His thoughts * are not our thoughts," &c. It is an intrigue of hell for bribing and blinding of conscience, to carry us into a maze of political schemes about consequences, which often intoxicate the mind to such a degree, that it cannot discern nor receive the plain testimony of the God of truth. And whatsoever undue regards, as to this matter, the carnal politics of men may suggest, they who are in repute for religion, and particularly ministers of the gospel ought to be far from being swayed by such considerations. Assuredly the profession of religion bears a willingness and readiness to endure whatsoever of trouble and persecution may attend the Lord's way. But, oh! while the fears and flatteries of men prevail, it is little considered that a turning aside to † crooked ways is justly punished by the Lord's leading forth the guilty with the workers of iniquity. 2. If he should proceed upon the topic of political wisdom, (which yet were full of danger in divine matters) yet he cannot think that the courses we have generally gone into will be found wise even on that score. He hopes his reader will allow him a little to extend some of the particulars, which were more succinctly touched in these conferences. 3. It is then to be remembered, that we were under a mild and benign government, having a king and queen who had a real kindness for us, and were most averse from persecution. We might safely have used freedom with them, both in the declaration of our principles, and in acting consequentially to them. Some few, he well knows, were very free with King William about these matters, when honoured with much access to, and particular converse with his Majesty, and he heard them without the least expression of displeasure. And as some little mints, consequential to these stated principles, though known to the King, yet did not draw forth any resentments against us, so he is credibly informed, that more of that kind was expected by his Ma-

* Isa. lv. 8.

† Psalm cxv. 5. and lxi. 18.

jectly than appeared in effect. Thus our unwarrantable
 compliances and accommodations were stumbling blocks
 cast before the King as well as others, to whom handles
 were given to think, that our received principles as to
 the royalties of Christ and liberties of his house were of
 no great moment, in regard we could so easily come and
 go upon them. Our circumstances were more favour-
 able than these of our ancestors, in so far as the supreme
 authority which was against them was yet most friendly
 to us. 4. Christian prudence might have suggested that
 it is a great deal easier and less irritating, humbly, mo-
 destly, and yet earnestly to decline the wreathing of an
 Ibrahian yoke about our necks, than to disengage our-
 selves after that we are already entangled. And no more
 is pleaded for, in the present case, than that we explicitly
 own our stated principles, and that (only upon urgency
 of necessity) we represent to the higher powers our ad-
 herence to them, and the uneasiness of restraints con-
 trary thereunto. Sure, if we resolve at all to stand fast
 to the liberties wherewith Christ hath made us free, it
 had been our wisdom, as well as our duty, to have be-
 stired ourselves more early for them with greater vigour.
 Delays in these events do greatly heighten the difficul-
 ties; for besides the iniquity of silence, when honest
 testimonies are required, the want of becoming regard to
 the honour of the Lord in these cases, rendereth us in
 the progress still more and more lukewarm and indiffe-
 rent, and so, at length, we plead for that as just which,
 at first, appeared scarcely tolerable. We generally pro-
 fessed a resolution to do somewhat towards the reviving
 our covenanted work of reformation, and an assertion of
 our government and liberties, after that some alledged
 hindrances were taken out of the way, and yet when
 they, or at least the most considerable of them, were re-
 moved, we were more remote from any such purpose
 than at the beginning. And forasmuch as we have lost
 the fairest opportunities, and some occasions which were
 greatly advantageous, it is to be feared that the fair words
 of some were rather shams to deceive the simple, than
 that they proceeded from any real intention. 5. To come
 more closely to the point under debate, he sincerely thinks
 the scriptural character of seasons for bearing testimony,

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will evince that we have neglected diverse such opportunities; and for clearing this he offers the following considerations, which were under view in these conferences.

1st, In general, whensoever truths or duties are * opposed or darkened, it is then the proper season to clear, own, and vindicate them. The antidote must needs be seasonable, whensoever the poison is instilled. Every moment lost in such clamant exigencies maketh the cure more difficult, and may render it impossible at length: yea, a prevention in these cases, if possible, were important duty. It is owing to the † sleeping of the watchmen, that tares are sown. 2dly, He thinks it very memorable on this head, that our Lord Jesus witnessed a good † confession by owning his kingly office, when questioned thereupon by Pontius Pilate. The office and exercise were then reputed criminal, though by mistake, and our Lord Jesus took the occasion for setting that matter in a just light. Herein PHILOMATHES judgeth he hath left us a notable ensample, that whensoever the nature of his kingdom, as he is the Head and King of his church, is so mistaken by the higher powers, that they look upon the interests and exercise thereof as prejudicial to their character, and hurtful to them. The high regards we owe to the honour of God, which, to the believer, is more endeared than all other interests, challengeth the deepest concern in this matter, and it is a most competent part for ambassadors of Christ to appear for the royalties of their Master, and the interests of his kingdom. Neither is it injurious to the dignity and majesty of kings, and it is presumable might have found acceptance with our king, to have had that matter set in a true light. Kings owe homage to the Prince of the Kings of the earth, by whom § they reign; and it is the Lord, and not man, who hath said to them, "Be wise, O ye kings, and be instructed, ye judges of the earth, serve the Lord with fear, &c. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry." Hence an ingenuous declaration of our stated principles, which are the same with these of

* Gal. v. 1, 2, 3. Eph. v. 11. † Mat. xv. 25.

† 1 Tim. vi. 13. John xviii. 35. § Prov. viii. 15.
Dan. ii. 21.

renowned Anti-erastian divines, together with a deportment answerable to them, is nothing unfuitable to the profound respect, and dutiful homage, we owe to the powers which the Lord hath set over us, and herein our worthy ancestors acted a most wise and faithful part. It is not denied but that an unjust power may be acclaimed by magistrates, and that their just power may be extended beyond its due limits; hereof it is acknowledged there have been instances in our case, from whence PHILOMATHES infers, that in such events a secret moan, or some transient doctrinal note, cannot amount to a valid and competent testimony. Somewhat that may bear proportion with the encroachments is required in the case. 3dly, Though he is far from urging the parallel beyond what a humble and dutiful regard to his Majesty can allow, and doth from his heart detest all violent courses, having nothing else in view, save a moral obligation to duty, yet with all due respect he must represent the memorable instance of Azariah the priest, with fourscore valiant priests of the Lord*, who withstood Uzziah the king, when attempting to burn incense upon the altar of incense. The words are memorable, "It appertaineth not to thee Uzziah, to burn incense to the Lord, but to the † priests, &c." He hopes his honest reader will not mistake him, seeing he carrieth the example no further than to the obligation incumbent on Christ's ambassadors in all ages, to deal faithfully and freely with crowned heads. as it may please the Lord to open a way unto them. The thrusting that king out of the temple, because of his leprosy, was owing to an express command suiting that dispensation. So much for more positive arguings. He shall next give his survivors a view of what was objected in these committees and conferences, without concealing any thing he possibly can overtake, allowing no regard in the world to any consideration, save that of truth and duty in the whole matter.

The main objection which he shall propose in its full strength, to the utmost of his reach, amounts to this,

* 2 Chron. xxvi. 16, 17, 18, &c. † Numb. xviii. 7. Exod. xxx. 7, &c.

namely,

namely, We, in our Confession of Faith, directly, or at least consequentially, acknowledge a power to be lodged in the supreme magistrate which will amount to what the court acclaims, namely, a right to call assemblies, which, upon delegation from their respective presbyteries, may and ought to meet upon this call. Moreover it was represented, that the act of Parliament convocating the Westminster Assembly, designed the very persons, and (excepting the Scots Commissioners) the Assembly consisted only of these whom that court had named. *Ans.*

1. The matter is cleared in the act of Assembly prefixed to the Westminster Confession, whereby this church approved it; in that act we have our principle asserted plainly; and so much our Assembly thought needful, lest their silence should import or be accounted to imply any thing prejudicial to the church's just liberties. 2. However, the magistrate may call assemblies to have their advice, or their doing what is proper for the church in some special emergencies, and in such events may design the persons, whose advice and concurrence they would have, and more in this kind may be done in extraordinary cases, when a church is rising out of the dust, than in a more settled state thereof, yet this ought still to be understood without prejudice to that power which the church hath, and our Assemblies have declared they have, (as also the civil powers have allowed) to meet ordinarily and annually in assemblies, consisting of ministers and ruling elders, delegated from the several presbyteries. 3. Our church did also declare, in the act forementioned, that they have right and authority from the Lord to meet in General Assemblies, *pro re nata*, as often as the necessities of the church shall require, as the act at more length bears. 4. There is a great difference betwixt the calling and dissolving of Assemblies: The one, *viz.* the calling, is cumulative, and to the advantage of the church, when they manage aright; but the other, *viz.* the dissolving, is privative, and to its hurt. The magistrate's calling then is not unsuitable to his nursing care, when it is not acclaimed in prejudice to the power the Lord hath given to the church over their meetings and matters; whereas a dissolving them in his name and authority, is the exertion of a power wherewith the Lord hath

hath not intrusted him. 5. This will further appear if we consider, that the keys of doctrine and government are given to the church and its overseers by the same grant, or deed of gift. It is not incompetent to the civil powers to require the church to meet for fasting and giving thanks in proper seasons, and it is their positive duty to do so in case of the church's neglect. Besides, as a keeper of both tables of the law, the magistrate may require them to meet duly for worship at more ordinary seasons: yet, when met, they ought to go about their work deliberately, and carry it decently to a period. It were undoubtedly an unwarrantable stretch for the magistrate to precipitate these meetings, or to dissolve any of them in his own name and authority. The application is easy.—These, and other things of that nature, were communed in the fore-mentioned meetings, in the accounts whereof he hath taken liberty to add some things for illustration and confirmation, as they occurred in the writing.

After all, 1st, the Moderator of the last committee where PHILOMATHES's affair were commenced, did, in the name of the meeting, desire him to keep the same measures with the Presbytery of H. which he had done before the commencement of the process. He replied, (not debating the lawfulness of what they demanded) that in his circumstances, a returning to the Presbytery, and meeting ordinarily with them, would entirely break his ministry, or at best greatly impair the credit thereof, at the post where he served; and that he could not, in conscience, give any consent to a dropping the process commenced against him, not from any private resentment (for he abhorred all such thoughts), but merely from the regard he thought he owed to the interests of our Lord's kingdom. Moreover he declared his willingness to correspond and concert with his reverend brethren, as he had done after they had brought him under process. And if this could not satisfy, he renewed his earnest desires, that they would allow him to demit his charge of the parish where he then laboured, and promised that he would not join himself to any separate society, seeing in his heart he detested such courses. Nevertheless he professed his hearty willingness to give all the

the desired concurrence with the judicatories of the church, if they would seriously apply themselves to the shaking off an Erastian yoke, by a faithful assertion of our stated principles, in opposition to stretches of that sort, and yet with all becoming respect to the higher powers.

2dly, They further proposed, that he would promise to keep much within the bounds of his own parish, and not to preach any where else, save with the consent of the respective ministers or presbyteries. To this he replied, that as he saw no ground for requiring such engagements of him more than of other ministers, especially seeing he had suffered wrong by an unwarrantable pursuit, so he told them plainly, he judged it inconsistent with the credit of his ministry (which he valued beyond his life) to give any other promise than what he had given at his ordination. He was indeed determined in his mind to keep all peaceable measures with the judicatories of the church, neither did he take any other course in that regard, save what they proposed; yet he evidently saw the snare of such promises, as what would be reputed to imply, on his part, a consent to the character that generally was given him, *viz.* of a dangerous person, who wanted the bond of unusual restraints.

3dly, When he perceived that the committee inclined to bring the matter to some issue, he offered to remove, that they might speak the more freely together, when alone; but they would not suffer him to leave them, and so in his presence it was overtured, that the affair should be left just as they found it; and in case of any new emergence, the Presbytery or Synod might do what they should find competent in the case. This was agreed to by all, and the Commissioners from the Presbytery of H. did also acquiesce. Thus PHILOMATHES returned to his charge, after all these tossings, and kept his congregation still in a state of correspondence with and dependence upon the Presbytery: only he attended not their meetings; and still urged that the process might be pushed the length of a decision of the General Assembly in the cause. No further motion was made for a considerable while, in regard of his languishing state of body, which his wife and kindly physician, with others who knew him, feared

feared was irrecoverable: and so threatening became the situation of that matter, that PHILOMATHES himself was constrained to signify to his congregation, upon a Sabbath, (wherein he had preached a little, but with much uneasiness) that he would be obliged to lay aside his public labours, as unable for them, and that his circumstances required a more near concernment about death and judgment. This came under a various construction, for sundry were afflicted, and regreted the feared loss: but others interpreted it as a righteous stroke, because of the contests he had with the church. The dispensation was very trying and afflictive to himself, who slept uneasily the night following, and went next morning to a retired orchard belonging to the manse, and there continued musing, and looking up for a while, under a great reluctance to die in such difficult circumstances, though otherwise not straitened as to his eternal state. At length he found his soul drawn forth to this earnest suit; "Jesus of Nazareth, make me perfectly whole." And in that very instant he found health and strength coming in, and diffusing itself through his whole body: and thus he was marvelously restored to health and vigour, which also continued for some considerable while after. Then it was that some delegated from the Presbytery and PHILOMATHES had sundry meetings, wherein his affair was reasoned on either hand. The Synod also interposed once by a friendly letter, signed by the Moderator, and sent to him; yet matters continued in the same posture, uneasy on either part. Upon the one hand, he could not go into the Separatists, and had many debates with them; and yet on the other, neither Presbytery nor Synod would consent to a carrying on the process commenced against him, that the Assembly might decide in the cause.

SECTION IX.

The Difference accommodated between the Author and the Presbytery. He is chosen a Delegate to the Assembly in 1695. Objections to his Commission, and sitting in the House, for his want of legal Qualification. His Behaviour in these difficult Circumstances. He is appointed on a Mission to the North; and demits his Charge at Dalsersf.

(1.) **A**T length it pleased the Lord, in his good providence, to open a way for healing that breach, which was so very afflicting on all hands. The season of the year was then awful, and the harvest like to prove very late (as actually it did); the fruits were in hazard to be spoiled by excessive rains; which, with other heavy signs of the time, procured the Synod of Glasgow's indicting a fast throughout the province, and much freedom was used in specifying the causes thereof; amongst others they named "Encroachments upon the Liberties of the Church, and Restraints put upon our General Assemblies."

The causes and whole draught of the act was so satisfying and refreshful to him, that he not only read the act and observed the solemnity with all the concern he could attain through grace, but having found in the paper an honest testimony against encroachments made upon the liberties of the church, he thought he had cause to conclude, that further designs of the like sort were entertained, as it might please the Lord to open a way for rendering them effectual. Hereupon he found his inclinations sweet, and strong, to concur with his dear brethren in such a desirable enterprise, and otherwise. — Therefore, after communing with some of them, and hearing accounts of the matter from themselves, together with their earnest desires of his concurrence, he offered

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tered it very chearfully, and signified his hearty willingness to have all differences betwixt the Reverend Presbytery and him, entirely swallowed up in some joint and harmonious appearance for the interests of our Lord's kingdom. Accordingly he attended the next meeting of the Presbytery with much peace and serenity of mind. — After private business, in regard the diet of the General Assembly approached, the brethren resolved to draw up instructions to these whom afterwards they might chuse to be their commissioners to that court; but no choice was made as yet. The instructions agreed upon, with great harmony, were such as fully satisfied him; neither would he desired more faithfulness and freedom on their part than was used at that time. One of them seemed to him a little ambiguous, yet seeing it admitted a just and safe sense, and the rest were fully clear he did not reclaim. R — W —, a minister of eminent abilities, with whom PHILOMATHES had many reasonings before, did great service both as to the matter and mould, having dictated the most part of them to the clerk to good purpose.

(2.) Soon after this PHILOMATHES travelled the length of Edinburgh, that he might acquaint his friends with the former steps he had taken. He had not the occasion to know their mind before, yet they were satisfied with his management as to the Synodical fast, and what followed thereupon. He also read to them a copy of the instructions prepared as aforesaid, which relished well with them: only they thought our courtly men would never suffer such honest proposals to be communicated to the Assembly, and yet far less to take the desired effect. In his absence the Presbytery of Hamilton again met, and made choice of him to be one of their commissioners for representing them at the ensuing Assembly. When upon his return home he had heard this, he was at once not a little afflicted and surpris'd, which he represented first by a letter to one of the brethren, and afterwards by word of mouth to the whole Presbytery, who often met on this occasion. He with the greatest earnestness obtest'd them to reconsider, and alter the choice as to his part, not from any unclearness he had to sit and prosecute their instructions at that court, so far as might be possible.

possible for him, but that he knew well the Government would bring him under trouble, because he wanted the legal qualification, having declined to swear the Allegiance oath, and sign the Assurance. He therefore entreated his dear brethren not to throw him into a new flame of persecution just upon his return, and firm purpose to live amicably with them. For confirmation of what he advanced, he shewed them that the reverend and worthy Mr. F —, of B — *, who, as to the oath, was in the same circumstances with himself, and before his refusal of it had been often a member of assemblies, which preceded that imposition, yet was never chosen after the refusal. His great abilities were well known to the Presbytery whereunto he belongs, yet such was their concern that they were loth to give a handle for bringing him to trouble; and PHILOMATHES requested, that the like tenderness might be shewed towards him, who is far more unable to encounter these difficulties than such a valiant champion. He further declared, that he had not the least suspicion of his kindly reception by his reverend brethren of the ministry, but withal he signified his persuasion, that the State would reclaim, and that his right to sit in that meeting would be assuredly quarrelled by them, because of his want of that legal qualification, which he well knew they understood as of a larger extent than his reverend brethren would acknowledge; and that the event would declare the Government had so far understood, and enacted that qualification, in an ecclesiastical sense, (which yet his brethren peremptorily denied) that it would be found they would interpose, and not allow him to sit and vote in that Assembly, because of his not being qualified by law, though they have nothing else in the world to object against him.

(3.) Upon the contrary, his reverend brethren laid out themselves with the greatest earnestness and concernment to persuade him, that no difficulty would be moved on that head; for that (said they) the oath is a civil thing, only acquired of ministers as subjects, and taken by them in that capacity; and further declared, they were the rather determined to make choice of him as
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* Probably Mr. Frazer, of Brac, after the Revolution minister of Culrofs.

one of their representatives, that they might declare their sense of the matter, as aforesaid. But withal they would have him assuredly to believe (which yet he could not) that the business of the oath would be no obstacle to him, nor be brought under any consideration with reference to the Assembly, and his trust from them therein; and in case of any scruple moved (of which they strongly asserted there was no danger) they required his fellow-commissioners to defend their choice, which yet they did not in the least. Thus poor PHILOMATHES was at length obliged to submit and obey, though with a great deal of uneasiness. This gave the most solace in that perplexing enterprise, that his obedience would open a way to to determine the question, Whether the King and Parliament had enacted the Allegiance, and required the Assurance, as an ecclesiastical qualification. He still asserted it, and gave his arguments, which he needs not resume here; and all his brethren denied it positively and peremptorily, for reasons they thought valid. He enters not at present on that debate. But, said he within himself, now shall we have an open declaration of the sense of the King and rulers, though he foresaw he would be made the sacrifice, and expected persecution on that head.

(4.) Accordingly every thing fell out as he had warned his reverend and dear brethren (but they would by no means hearken unto him), for he gave in the commission, having it entrusted him by the Presbytery (tho' he was not the eldest of the ministers delegated), and was welcomed by his reverend brethren; his name was inrolled with the rest, and called in a little vote or two. At this time his Majesty's Commissioner was absent, his commission not being ready to be produced; and therefore they neither made choice of a new Moderator, nor entered upon any new business of moment.

(5.) But how soon his Grace understood that PHILOMATHES was chosen to be a member of the Assembly, he expressed his resentment, and represented to a person of quality the inconvenience and danger of such an imprudent choice. This nobleman informed, or sent one to acquaint him of so much, (he cannot remember which). —Nevertheless he resolved, in the Lord's strength, to stand his ground, though his fellow commissioners gave him

him instantly up, and declared they would not meddle. Such was their want of willingness, or rather of courage, for they shewed no aversion until the very first shock of opposition made them to shrink and quit the cause. And though he well knew that the King's Commissioner was displeased, yet he resolved to overlook that matter, and to go in the capacity wherein his Presbytery had put him, as if no such thing were.

(6.) But the Commissioner sent an express for him very quickly; whereupon he attended his Grace as desired. And in regard they were alone, and that his Grace allowed him time at will, he accordingly improved it with becoming deference to his great character, as representing the King. He sincerely and freely laid before him many encroachments which had been made upon the liberties of our Assemblies, by adjournments and dissolutions, as if they had been civil courts, and declared to him plainly, that the troubles he was brought under as to the trust the Presbytery of H. had committed to him, were none of the least. He also narrated matter of fact before-mentioned, viz. that the choice was made in his absence, and how much he laboured to procure an alteration, &c. : Nevertheless in regard the Presbytery had returned him one of their commissioners, he dealt resolutely with his Grace, and told him in plain terms, that he could not obey his Grace in deserting the commission. The State had nothing to except against him, save that he was not qualified by law (though as loyal as any other subject, both in principle and practice), and for them to judge and determine in the necessary qualities of a member of assembly, he feared not to say, was an encroachment upon their liberties. Howsoever seeing the Presbytery he represented had, for what he knows, chosen him unanimously, at least did unanimously confirm the choice, when he excepted against it, he was ready to submit the whole matter to the cognizance of the Assembly itself, whom he owned to be his only competent judges in that matter. He shewed his willingness and readiness to stand out that trial, in which event he would expect a fair hearing in answer to whatsoever might be excepted against him. If they should thereupon forbid his attendance, he promised not to reclaim: But in regard

gard he had been sent in by his Presbytery, and enrolled amongst them as a member, he could not be removed from that trust by any save by themselves only, and therefore was resolved to attend the utmost, whatsoever his entertainment might be, unless his Presbytery recalled the commission, which he expected not they would do.

(6.) This resolution was highly displeasing to his Grace, and the reasonings were for sometime warm and close on either hand. He signified that the tabling such a matter before the Assembly could not fail to raise a terrible flame, and would put them upon a most uneasy and inextricable lock: He was also pleased to say, that the wickedest Jesuit could not readily act a more mischievous part in these circumstances. This touched PHILOMATHES in the quick, and he answered pointedly, that he acted nothing in the whole matter but what was necessarily consequential to our principles, as Presbyterians in opposition to Erastianism, that both his own Presbytery and the whole ministry of this church declared, the oath was required and taken by them as a qualification: merely civil, and therefore a declining it could not infer an ecclesiastical penalty, such as the being incapable to sit as a member in a General Assembly; a censure utterly incompetent for the State to inflict. They might as well have discharged him to sit in any church judicatory whatsoever, or have inhibited him to preach. Touching the generally received evasion of a civil qualification, &c. he found, in the whole of this trial, renewed confirmations of that which he had still asserted, and acts of parliament with reference to the oaths do plainly bear, viz. that the State required them as a qualification of ministers and preachers, in the same way wherein they were enabled to qualify others in civil trust. As to the distinction betwixt ministers, as such, and their being subjects, &c.: they smiled when he mentioned it, but had no regard to such mean evasions. Where the law makes no difference, there is no room for distinguishing. After some close debate, the Commissioner imparted to him very freely, that his instructions could not bear him out to allow his sitting in the Assembly, only because he wanted the legal qualification; otherwise his Grace expressed much

much kindness, PHILOMATHES having had the honour of particular acquaintance with him long before. And further, he shewed that it must needs be a great hardship for the Assembly to hear and decide in that matter; for though they should declare themselves satisfied, yet he, as representing the King, could not suffer him to sit and act in that court. This was the true sense of the Government in that matter, though afterwards the law wore gradually into desuetude. In fine, he most earnestly intreated him yet to qualify himself, by taking the oath; and finding him more averse than ever from that compliance, he pressed him with all possible but friendly importunity, to retire quietly unto his own home, there being no other expedient for disentangling the Assembly. This is the compendious sum of what was communed betwixt his Majesty's Commissioner and PHILOMATHES at sundry meetings; in all which his Grace used him courteously, and had him in the evenings more than once at his own table.†

(7.) After this, when it was understood that the Commissioner prevailed not with him either to qualify or desert the commission, the delegates from the whole Synod of G. met to concert their business, and PHILOMATHES was warned to be with them without fail, who found that his affair was the real cause of their meeting at that time. They in like manner importuned him, either to qualify or desert the commission, from the same grounds which his Grace had proceeded upon; and he answered as before, having narrated matter of fact to them, which he found diverse of them knew very well. Only he was a little more pointed with his brethren, and was sensibly strengthened and encouraged by the Lord, in declaring plainly to them, that now the strongest reasons for which he had refused to take the oath of Allegiance, were visibly confirmed and owned by authority, viz. that the oath was imposed upon us as ministers, and as an ecclesiastical qualification. They all denied it peremptorily before, having nothing else to reply to the argument of the few refusers upon that score. Now, said he, he hoped the true sense of the Government in that matter was set in an incontrollable evidence. His Majesty's Com-

† The King's Commissioner at this time was Lord John Carmichael.

Commissioners and other chief State-trustees might be reckoned to know the meaning of the laws, otherwise plainly enough expressed; and this was the only exception they had against him, that he wanted the legal qualification: the evidence of truth in this case could not admit of any evasion, being plain matter of fact. Thus did that essay prove also ineffectual, and they parted sorrowful on either hand.

(8.) Hence another method was fallen upon, with some hope that it might take effect, for the leading men both in Church and State understood one another, and acted by concert in this matter. They all spoke the same things, and for most part the very same words; neither did they deny the combination, when PHILOMATHES challenged them with some pointed warmth. The method was this:—The King's Advocate was at pains to search him out, and sent one expressly with a line, written by himself, requiring his coming to him speedily, because he had a business of great weight to commune with him; and that by no means he must either fail, or even delay his coming. This was an afflicting surprise to PHILOMATHES, not knowing, yet fearing, what might lurk under such a peremptory message, from a man full of business, and just going to court in such haste, that no importunity would move him so much as to come to the house, and give his presence in a cause then depending before the Lords.—(This PHILOMATHES saw and heard, after that he was come to wait upon his Lordship.)—Nevertheless PHILOMATHES wanted not abundance of his Lordship's time; for after a very short attendance, he removed all company, and discharged his servants to give any person access unto him, tho' many were seeking it. While the servants attended without, his Lordship took him by the hand, and carried him to an inner chamber. There he entertained him at first in a most friendly manner, using his arts of persuasion to procure his deserting the commission and returning home. He tendered not the oath to him, for it seems he had no hope that he would take it: But finding that PHILOMATHES could not be moved to follow his advice; he became more uneasy, and first, with some briskness, he disputed the validity of the commission, alledging that some part of the Presbytery of H. had precipitantly and irregularly

irregularly chosen him; &c. He answered, that though the choice was made in his absence, yet the meeting was one of the ordinary meetings of the Presbytery, from which very few, if any other than himself, were absent; and seeing his fellow-commissioners were chosen at the same time, the choice was equally valid as to them all. And when he at the meeting objected against the choice of himself, because of his circumstances with the Government, and entreated for a change with all possible earnestness, they were so far from making any alteration, that unanimously they confirmed their first choice. This his Lordship confessed took off the exception, but he asserted withal very strongly, that the Presbytery of H. had gone into these measures from a design to ruin PHILOMATHES, in regard, said he, they could not be ignorant of the tendency of such a choice; and therefore he renewed his imperious desires, that PHILOMATHES would desert the commission, and promised that he, however hastened, would write to the Presbytery upon the head. PHILOMATHES replied, that his Lordship did mistake the Rev. Presbytery, for that they had much undeserved respect for him, with whom also he was in the pleasant terms of love and friendship. They all declared, they thought the oath had been imposed upon them, and that they took it only in the civil capacity of subjects, not as qualifying them to any ecclesiastical work; and therefore they would needs have him to believe that he would incur no danger, nor would the validity of his commission be in the least questioned in the Assembly on this head: and in case it were, they required his fellow-commissioners to defend the choice (which yet none of them had the courage once to essay). All this his Majesty's Advocate, who well knew the design and meaning of plain acts of parliament as to that matter, repelled with disdain, as a parcel of empty and little notions, and signified that as the Government had no regard to these precisions and distinctions, so he must tell him plainly, that he could not be suffered to sit as a member in that Assembly, unless in order thereunto, he qualified himself by taking the Allegiance oath, and signing the Assurance, in which event no objection would be moved against him: But having no expectation that he would agree to

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this motion, he renewed his instances that he would desert the commission, and go hence. He also promised to give him a letter to the Presbytery which sent him, for his exoneration at their hands. This PHILOMATHES refused downright, but with becoming respect to his Lordship's character; and told him plainly he wanted to have the judgment of the Assembly in the cause, to whose decision he would stand; and therefore did resolve to prosecute the commission as far as might be competent for him. Hereupon he (the Advocate) broke forth into such a height of passion, and expressed himself in such terms of violence, as love and modesty oblige to bury in silence. He observed to him that his case was notour, and that his behaviour had been much noticed, whereas the case of some other recusants was little if at all known; and from hence it was that his uneasy pursuit had its rise and strength. He moreover peremptorily discharged him to come within the doors of the Assembly-house; and added, that he himself would take notice whether he obeyed. PHILOMATHES answered, he was as firmly resolved to be in the Assembly as his Lordship; and that nothing save mere force should hold him out. At this the Advocate stormed, threatened, and summoned him to appear before the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, and said he would secure him till their Lordships' meeting. PHILOMATHES answered resolutely and calmly, he was in his hands, and he might do with him as seemed good in his sight: he also signified that he was willing to appear before the Council, and to account for the whole matter before them, as it might please the Lord to direct and furnish him: He needed not to be imprisoned for securing his appearance; howsoever he was satisfied to submit to whatsoever his Lordship would do with him; and he truly expected to be carried instantly to prison. But he soon found all this stir was made, what by more amicable persuasion, what by terror, for compassing the main design, and not from any purpose of further progress; for he went off without any danger. Only he used all possible means to procure a friendly parting from his Lordship, but could not obtain so much, his Lordship's passion remained unallayed, for what he could perceive; yet he charitably presumes
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the Advocate intended kindness, though not in a way which could consist with PHILOMATHES's principles and conscience. Just upon his leaving the King's Advocate, he met with some ministers of the Synod to which he pertained, who, it seems, were waiting to hear the issue; and from their discourse he understood, that this whole project had been laid by persons of considerable note, both in Church and State, from some of whom he had expected a fairer treatment; but he shall be silent, not daring to quarrel in word, what in heart he forgives.

(9.) This mean having also failed, his affair fell, of course, under the consideration of the Committee of Assembly for trying controverted commissions, who also desired to be rid of it: Nevertheless he sisted himself, though unrequired, before them, and did plead his right, though without the assistance of his brethren commissioned with him, for they left him from the beginning. This committee was at the greatest pains, and some were employed to search registers, if possibly they could find exceptions against him, distinct from the oaths, which yet was the only real hindrance, and they knew in their consciences so much. He shall gratify his survivors with a particular account of them, with his answers. They all centered in two. 1. It was alledged he was under process, and had been cited to appear before the preceeding Assembly, and therefore could not be regularly chosen, &c. Answ. 1st, The process was only at the instance of the Presbytery who had laid it aside. 2dly, A mere process, especially about controversies of the time, without so much as a hearing, tho' often importuned by the person pursued, (which was his case) cannot deprive a minister of his right, especially when the pursuers are glad to desist from the pursuit; otherwise a great handle would be given for invidious prosecutions: and for this he referred himself to these able lawyers who were members of the committee, and they all acknowledged the validity of the defence. 3dly, While matters as to the alledged process continued in suspense, and it was generally acknowledged to have been rashly intended, and the pursuers had often obtested him to allow the dropping of it, besides that the matter was

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compromised betwixt the Presbytery and him, and he, upon the instructions concerted betwixt them, was willing to return to the judicatories, how can it consist with common ingenuity and honesty to condemn the process, and to use all possible motives to persuade him to carry as if it had never been, and yet when he had voluntarily offered all that they desired, then to seclude him upon the pretext of that process! It was strange that he could not be suffered to live either out of communion, or in communion with the church judicatories. 4thly, To remove all doubt, he denied there was any process formed against him, and thereupon appealed to the Clerk of the Assembly, who declared there was not one word about him in the records either of the Assembly or Commission. Thus the exception fell to the ground, and the exceptors were at a stand for some time. At length, after a careful search, it was alledged, 2. That the Synods of G. and A. had appointed a visitation to be held at D. where PHILOMATHES served, and to enquire into the doctrine which had been reported to have been preached there on the — day of —. This was presently received as a valid exception. But he answered, 1st, The doctrine quarrelled was not preached by PHILOMATHES, but by a brother, who came to visit him. 2dly, The complainer to the Reverend Synod was none of his hearers, but had taken the report from one who had often declared his enmity against PHILOMATHES. 3dly, The complaint was made just when the brethren were going off, and the visitation was ordered in a hurry. 4thly, The Presbytery, upon better information, dropped that appointment, and the visitation was never held. 5thly, This could not militate against PHILOMATHES, who was *in tuto* to invite that brother, being under no legal exception. He knew not what the brother would say, and common sense could not make him liable for the doctrine of another. Hereupon it was urged, that the Presbytery was not in *bona fide* to have chosen him, because they had not accounted to the Synod for that visitation. But the reply was obvious. 1. The Synod met not to take the account. 2. If the Presbytery had made the choice *cum periculo*, let them answer it to the Synod;

Synod ; but it could not prejudge him, who was obliged to obey their appointment.

(10.) At length when he was outwearied with these fightings, he proposed an overture to the very reverend Moderator, who communicated it to the Committee of Overtures, and it was kindly entertained as a proper expedient for ending the matter, *viz.* That the Assembly would attest his diligence in pursuance of the commission, in which event he was willing not to be further uneasy to them. Accordingly an attestation much to this purpose, but leaving the blame upon the Presbytery, was drawn up in the Committee of Overtures, and signed by the Clerk of the Assembly. After that he considered it, he urged that it might be brought into the venerable Assembly, and have the authority of that court, otherwise it answered not his overture, nor could it be reputed their deed : But seeing this could not be obtained, he reckoned not himself disengaged from his commission ; and therefore he went ordinarily to the Assembly, and sometimes spake in it, but not much. This was uneasy to them, yet no person challenged it, and he was satisfied not to push the matter too far : Notwithstanding he could not refrain from giving his dissent from the manner of its dissolution in the King's name. This Assembly did put him upon the mission ; and so he went north to the province of Murray, being one of these who were declared transportable by that Assembly, in case of a regular call. He was unanimously invited to take the charge of a parish there ; but having fallen under a dangerous and languishing indisposition, from which there was scarce any appearance of a possible recovery, he demitted his charge, and accepted of no other for some years, in the mean while labouring as his frailties could allow, but still in a way of church communion, and without disturbance to any society. At length a way being most unexpectedly opened to him, with universal consent, to an easy and manageable congregation, he agreed to take a trial, and continueth to labour there to this day.— Many remarkable things occurred also, during his settlement at that post ; but accounts of these will be found in his Journals, which his friends may see conveniently after

after his decease. In this long Memorial his survivors have the summary of his tossings. Times, persons, and places have been therein concealed, mostly of set purpose, in regard he only designed the detection of matters, and inclined to cover every thing else. In reasonings he took freedom to add somewhat now and then, for setting them in the clearer light, and hath been fully as free in that part on the side of his antagonists as his own. He questions not but that his judicious reader will find many imperfections in it, sundry of which might have been amended, could the great length of the undertaking have allowed a second draught; and he freely acknowledgeth that great weakneses cleave to his performances at their best. All he pretends is, that the Narration is ingenuous, as becomes a Testamentary Memorial.

F I N I S.

FORM of the OATH of ALLEGIANCE, and the
ASSURANCE, imposed in 1693, on Ministers,

By *As. VI. & XXIII. Sess. 4. Parl. 1. of King W. & M.*

I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary. So help me God.

THE ASSURANCE.

I A. B. do, in the sincerity of my heart, assert, acknowledge, and declare, that their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, are the only lawful undoubted sovereigns of this realm, as well *de jure*, that is, of right; king and queen, as *de facto*, that is, in the possession and exercise of the government; and therefore I do sincerely and faithfully promise and engage, that I will, with heart and hand, life and goods, maintain and defend their Majesties title and government, against the late King James, and his adherents, and all other enemies, who, either by open or secret attempts, shall disturb or disquiet their Majesties in the possession or exercise thereof.

COPY OF THE FORMULA,

Appointed to be subscribed by the Episcopal Ministers and Elders in Scotland; referred to in Sect. VII.

I A. B. do sincerely declare and promise, that I will submit to the Presbyterial Government of the Church, as it is now established in this kingdom, under their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, by Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies; and that I will, as becomes a minister of the gospel, heartily concur with the said Government, for the suppressing of sin and wickedness, the promoting of piety, and the purging of the church of all erroneous and scandalous ministers. And I do further promise, that I will subscribe the Confession of Faith, and the Shorter and Larger Catechisms, now confirmed by an act of Parliament, and containing the doctrine of the Protestant religion professed in this Kingdom.

and bound for Press, and speedily will be published.

I. A Politico-Political-Ecclesiastical Dissertation on the ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY of Princes, particularly that annexed to the English Crown.

II. A new Statement and Declaration of the Genuine Principles of Seceders in Scotland, on the Head of Civil Authority, and the Duty of Subjects: And a Vindication of the General Associate Synod, and the People connected with it, in reference to some late Public Differences and Associations on the Affair of Civil Reform.

III. Discourses on True and False Religion; with a Vindication of the Religion and Reformation of Protestants. By B. Pieter, of Geneva. Translated from the French by A. Bruce.

IV. Principal Difference between the Religious Principles of those commonly called the Anti-Government Party, and of other Presbyterians, especially those of the Secession in Scotland, on the Head of Magistracy, briefly stated.

V. A Peaceable Declaration of the Sentiments of a Number of Presbyterians in Scotland, relative to the War between France and Great-Britain.

A few remaining Copies of

I. Reflections on Freedom of Writing; and the Impropriety of attempting to suppress it by Penal Laws.

II. A Serious View of the Remarkable Providences of the Times; and a Warning as to the Public Sins, Dangers, and Duty of British Protestants.

III. The British Jubilee; wherein the Anniversary Thanksgiving commemorating the Revolution; and the Doctrine, History, and Practice of Religious Festivals in general, are particularly considered.

IV. Queries addressed to the Gentry, Clergy, and People of Scotland, on their observing the Centenary Commemoration; and on the Bill for appointing a Perpetual Anniversary. Being a Supplement to the foregoing.

